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EDWARD I. SEARS, LL. D.

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Pulchrum est bene facere reipublice, etiam bene dicere haud absurdum est.

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61 BROADWAY.

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September 4.

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September 11.

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AND

School of Civil Engineering,

September 20.

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October 2.

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October 17.

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December, 1868.

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THERE is no idea more ancient than that of an evil spirit against whose machinations man should be constantly on his guard. Under one name or other all nations, from the most barbarous to the most civilized, have acknowledged the existence of such a being. Even those who could not understand, or believe that the universe is the work of an all-wise and beneficent Creator, have readily accepted the dogma of

a malignant genius who delights only in mischief. Pagans, Jews, Christians, Mahomedans, Brahmins, and Buddhists, have all agreed in this faith, if in nothing else. Many nations, ancient and modern, have changed their religion; none have surrendered the evil one. All have clung to him with a tenacity which, if it is not laudable, is at least remarkable.

It is true that there have been individuals in every age who have denied the existence of any such being; nor does the present age form an exception; but we do not hesitate to say that let the investigator travel whither he may he will find three-fourths of all he meets implicit believers in devil or demon, no matter what other dogma they may receive or reject. As we are not theologians we will not take it upon us to determine which are right or wrong, although we may remark in passing, that if the voice of the majority must be received as the correct one, nothing could be more impious or treasonable than to deny the existence of the being who commenced his depredations on mankind in the garden of Eden. For our part we have no ambition either to condemn, or refute a dogma which has been taught by the most pious and learned Christians for nearly two thousand years.

It is well to remember that if human malefactors had once a good character, infernal malefactors had the same; and this is one of the most remarkable features in the history of the evil one, who has been known in all parts of the world by so many different names. Sometimes the being who was worshiped as a God in one country was feared and detested as a devil in another*; some nations regarded demons as beneficent beings while others regarded them as malignant beings.

It would seem that their conduct must have deteriorated gradually, for we find that for many ages the proportion of mankind which regarded them as evil spirits continued steadily to increase, whereas that which regarded them as beneficent spirits continued to diminish in a still larger ratio,

* Fulgence, *Mythologia*, p. 712.

until finally the term *dæmon* became synonymous throughout the world with devil, or evil spirit.

From this degeneracy many learned investigators have inferred that the *dæmons* as well as the gods of the Heathen were human beings deified after their death; and it cannot be denied that they can adduce cogent arguments in support of that view. Hesiod may be regarded as the most ancient profane authority on the religious faith of Pagan antiquity, and there is no subject on which he writes more plainly or more authoritatively than on this. In his famous description of the Ages of the world, he speaks of the Golden Age as follows: "After their death the men of that epoch became beneficent *dæmons*, living on earth as the guardians of mortals, observing the works of justice and the works of injustice. Veiled in a thick cloud, they passed through the earth dispensing benefits; such is the royal privilege conferred on them."

At this time *dæmon* and god were synonymous terms, and they continued such for centuries after.* In the time of Plato a considerable change had taken place; the philosopher frequently mentions the *dæmon* as an inferior deity.† He says in the Banquet that "*Dæmons* are intermediate between God and mortals; their function is to interpret and convey to the gods what comes from men, and to men what comes from the gods; the prayers and offerings of the one, and the commands of the others. These *dæmons* are the source of all prophecy, and of the art of the priests, in relation to sacrifices, consecrations, conjurations, &c.; for God has no immediate intercourse with men but all the intercourse and conversation between the gods and mortals are carried on by means of the *dæmons*, both in waking and sleeping. There are many kinds of such *dæmons*, or spirits."

Throughout the Homeric poems the *dæmon* is regarded in the same light; and the poet assigns him duties in accordance with his inferiority. Nor is it alone the inferior gods Homer treats in this manner; he frequently assigns corre-

* "We must not," says Menander, "think any *dæmon* to be evil or hurtful to life, but every god to be good."

† Cratylus. See also Apuleius, de Deo Socrato.

sponding duties to the goddesses, as, for example, when he makes Minerva wash the face of Penelope.* But however inferior the demons may be, he everywhere describes them as the protectors of the good and just.†

Thales the Milesian divided all spiritual beings into three classes; the gods who govern the universe, the demons who are partly celestial and partly terrestrial, and the heroes whom he describes as human souls separated from the body. ‡ And nearly the same faith was professed by Pythagoras.

In the time of Æschylus and Euripides; the demons had greatly degenerated; thus Atossa is made to say in the *Persians*, "Prince, an envious demon has caused all the mischief."§ And the same poet speaks in his *Seven Chiefs before Thebes*, of the demon of hatred (v. 711.) Yet it is evident from the testimony of various authors that many still adhered to the old doctrine; we have proof of it in the curious fact that while in one tragedy Æschylus designates the Furies as black and repulsive demons, in another he describes them as chaste goddesses, the powerful and respectable daughters of the Night. ||

Before the time of Æschylus, both painters and poets represented the infernal as well as the celestial divinities as beautiful in form; few made any distinction in this respect, the reason being that both kinds of divinities were regarded as belonging to the same family. In short there is abundant evidence that the hideous forms in which the demons are painted at the present day, is a modern idea. Pausanias informs us (Ch. 1, p. 29,) that it was not until after the time of Æschylus that even Furies, or Pluto were represented as in any manner repulsive in their features or appearance, and his testimony is confirmed in many ancient sculptures and paintings. Thus, for example, there are seven vases in the gallery of the Louvre in Paris, each of which represents one of the infernal deities; and all would be much more likely to be taken for guardian angels, accord-

* *Od.* xviii. v. 190 *et seq.*

§ *V.* 333—5.

† *Od.* xvii. v. 473.

|| *Æm. vii.* v. 1038 *et seq.*

‡ *Legatio qua Christianis, Athenæis.*

ing to the modern idea, than for any mischievous or malignant beings. A still more striking example may be seen at the Museum of Florence, where a Fury appears on a bass-relief, representing the abduction of Helen. The features of the infernal divinity far from being hideous or repulsive, have an expression of nobleness, beauty and calm dignity, which the modern painters of saints and madonnas might well emulate.

In Euripides the demons had degenerated still more. All cruel spirits were now ranked as demons, such as the Furies, the *Pœnæ*, the Alastors, Nîmesis, &c., who were represented as the implacable enemies of mankind, and at the same time the unswerving instruments of divine vengeance against crime of all kinds. They are represented as inflicting great miseries on mortals, though not without their being deserved. An interesting example of this will be found in the tragedy of the *Phœnicians* in which Antigone speaks of the Alastor (demon) who causes incendiaries, murders and strifes.*

It is clear that the changes which had thus taken place excited considerable comment in the time of Plutarch, for the philosopher refers to them in several of his works. "Certain philosophers, he says, admitting the same changes in the soul which take place in the body, believe that earth changes into water, water into air, and air into fire, nature always tending to subtilize herself; on the same principle those among human souls who are most virtuous become heroes; the heroes are changed into demons, and some—a small number—entirely purified by a long exercise of the virtues, are elevated to the divine nature. Upon the other hand there are those who, incapable of restraining their desires, degenerate to such an extent as to plunge themselves again into mortal bodies to eke out in a gloomy atmosphere an obscure and miserable existence."†

But Plutarch does not condemn the demons, or regard them as malignant beings; he tells us that there are demons of whom the gods make use as *ministers and servants*, and to whom the care of fêtes and mysteries is consecrated. There

* V. 1529—1531.

† *Opinion, Philosoph.* 96, A, c, 26.

are others, he adds, who are charged with travelling through the earth for the purpose of punishing evil-doers for their crimes; while a third class are the dispensers of rewards to the virtuous and good.* In Plutarch's time, as well as at the present day, there were those who regarded the belief in demons as mere superstition; but it is equally true that good men regarded it as favorable to virtue, and therefore forbore to sneer at it even when their private opinions were opposed to it. Few would venture to assert that so learned and wise a man as Plutarch was superstitious, yet the philosopher does not hesitate to warn his readers that those who deny the existence of demons destroy all intercourse between the gods and men.†

The Romans borrowed their demons as well as their gods from the Greeks; they merely changed the names of the former as they did those of the latter. In proof of this we have the testimony of the most reliable of the Roman writers. "Those whom the Greeks call *dæmons*, says Cicero, are in my opinion the same whom we call *lures*."‡ The Romans made a distinction between the good and the bad; the latter they called *larces*; but both were regarded as the souls of the dead and were known by the general appellation of *lemures*.§

It was not until the time of Numa that the Greek or oriental deities were formally introduced among the Romans, for this prince was the great religious reformer of his time. One of the first decrees which he issued was the following: "Let all honor the ancient gods of heaven and those whose merits have carried them thither; such as Hercules, Bacchus, Æsculapius, Castor, Pollux and Junius."|| The deities "carried thither" are supposed, with good reason, to be those brought by Æneïs into Italy. Be this as it may it is certain that those whose worship was thus established by law included the good, and the bad, and that those who

* Plutarch De Is. et Osiris.

† Plutarch, Treatise on the Consolation of Oracles.

‡ Græci *dæmonas* appellant, nostri, opinor, *lures*. De Vulveris.

§ Ovid Fast.

|| Cicero de Legibus 1. li. c. 8.

were worshiped as good and beneficent at one time, were sought to be propitiated at another as malignant and revengeful. Among all the ancient nations we find evidence of these transitions. Is it strange then that there is scarcely one of the ancient philosophers who did not regard all the heathen deities as beings that had once been mortals. According to Cicero "even the gods of the superior order were originally natives of the lower world, &c."*

But it is not merely the Pagan authors who give this testimony; the most learned and pious of the Fathers of the church fully confirm it. "You can hardly find," says St. Augustine, "in all the writings of the heathen any gods but such as had been men; nevertheless to all of them they pay divine honors as if they never belonged to the human race."† Indeed no one, competent to judge, so well acquainted with Greek mythology as St. Augustine, could have arrived at any different conclusion.

All that we read in ancient authors of the greatest of the Greek deities proves them to be human. This is eminently true even of Zeus "the father of gods and men;" nor is it less true of Juno his "wife and sister." No mortal husband and wife, who had no pretensions to divinity, quarrelled more, or were guilty of more scandalous conduct; and there was scarcely one of the numerous progeny of the Olympian deity, whose conduct was not nearly as bad as his own. Although Homer represents Jupiter as the source of all earthly authority,‡ as the supreme king, from whom all other monarchs receive their power, he represents him at the same time as living in his palace on Olympus like a Grecian prince. From what we learn of him in the *Iliad* we must believe that if any other prince had more indecent altercations in his family, or was guilty of more shameful intrigues with the wives and daughters of his princely, or unprincely neighbours, his morals must have been very defective indeed.

All the beautiful celestial goddesses of his time were not sufficient to gratify the amorous propensities of Jupiter; he

* Tusc. Disp. L. 1, c. 12.

‡ Il. 2. 197.

† St. Aug. Civ. Del. L. 1, c. 42.

had also a numerous progeny by the fairest of mortal women, the majority of whom were the wives of mortal men. Had the latter only known his character they could hardly have expected much happiness from his love, since, according to the most orthodox authorities he literally devoured his first wife. Thus we are told that he first espoused Metis who "exceeded gods and men in knowledge." But wise and learned as Metis was she had enemies; doubtless rival princesses who were jealous of her glory. What we are informed, however, is that Heaven and Earth told Jupiter that his first child, though a female, would equal him in strength and wisdom, and that her second, a son, would be king of gods and men. Jupiter, determined to prevent the birth of such ominous children, took the precaution of swallowing his wife. It seems that even a goddess could not have children after being devoured by her divine husband, for we hear no more of poor Metis, but in due time Minerva springs from the head of Jupiter.

It does not seem that the father of gods and men remained long a widower even after so unusual an occurrence. Perhaps one month had elapsed before he married his second wife, the beautiful Themis who in due time bore him the Seasons and the Fates—the former beneficent deities, the latter rather cruel, if not malignant. Thus we learn that good and bad sprung from the same divine parents; and we may remark in passing that the fact serves to explain how it is that in nearly all the ancient authors the celestial and infernal deities are indifferently called demons.*

The next wife of Jupiter is the Ocean nymph Eurynome, who produced him the Graces. This lady also he soon discarded for Ceres the mother of Proserpine. Jupiter's next fancy was Latona who bore him Apollo and Diana. If he had any celestial spouse after Juno the fact is not recorded in any orthodox work. The general opinion among the learned seems to be that either Juno excited his prejudices against the celestial beauties by her constant jealousies and bickerings, or otherwise she gained so complete a mastery over him

* *Pantheon* I. 29.

that however much he might transgress by intrigues she would not allow him to have another wife.

Some think that it was her son Mars, the god of war, who prevented him from espousing another; while others maintain that he married Dione the mother of Venus more recently than Juno.* The more general opinion is, however, that the goddess of love was illegitimate; although no better reason can be assigned for the fact than that Venus was quite as favorable to illicit love as to connubial or lawful love; in general perhaps more so.

In all this there is not much that is divine according to modern notions. Certainly, as many mischievous deities as good or harmless ones were borne to Jupiter by his celestial wives. If we compare the goddesses whom he loved with the mortal women whom he honored in a similar manner, we shall find that in general the latter were more divine in their conduct and disposition than the former. Thus, for example, it seems it was in vain the father of gods and men paid his addresses to Leda the wife of Tyndarus, king of Sparta; the lady persistently spurned his proposals until he had assumed the form of a swan, a bird of which she was very fond; and hence it was that her two children Pollux and Helen were produced from an egg and that even her mortal husband, royal as he was, could not allege that her virtue, or fidelity as a wife, had been injured by so strange an amour.

Of all the other mortal women whom Jupiter seduced it is sufficient for our present purpose to mention Europa. We are told that this lady was the daughter of Agenor king of Phœnicia. The father of gods and men finding that he had not sufficient influence on Europa in his divine character to induce her to reciprocate his passion, changed himself into a beautiful white bull, and approached her "breathing saffron from his mouth" as she was gathering flowers with her companions near the sea-shore. The young lady being very fond of cattle was delighted with the tameness and beauty of the white animal; after caressing him for some time she ventured to mount him, oxen being used at this time in parts of

* *Hæmer* II. 5. 570.

the East, as horses and donkeys were in other parts of the world. No sooner did the amorous god find Europa on his back than he plunged into the sea and swam with his precious burden to the island of Crete. Here he resumed his divine form, and caressed the trembling maid in spite of her cries and entreaties. We are told that soon after Europa had three children, Minos, Rhadamanthus, and Sarpedon, and that Asterius, king of Crete, knowing that her virtue was still intact, notwithstanding her having three little ones at a birth, readily espoused her and educated her sons in a manner, as nearly as possible, compatible with their half-divine, half-mortal parentage.

It is not strange that St Justin, one of the most learned of the Fathers regarded all the Greek and Roman divinities as evil demons. "Because, formerly," he says "the wicked demons manifested themselves by apparitions, committed fornication with the women, caused frightful pictures to appear to men for the purpose of striking terror into the souls of those who were incapable of judging the demons by their actions, and were therefore ignorant of their being wicked demons; for these reasons men called them gods, and designated them by the various names which those mysterious being had imposed on them."*

So much for the deities of the most enlightened nation of all antiquity, and which were adopted, as we have already seen by the Romans, who ranked next to the Greeks in intelligence. That not one of them, whether good or bad, had any real pretensions to divinity is sufficiently clear; and yet it is not likely that they were less respectable in general, or less worthy of worship as deities than the gods or demons of the Pagan Egyptians, Chaldeans, Syrians, Phœnicians, Hindoos, or Chinese, for the reason that all were human. In proof of this we have Phœnician authority. Philo of Byblus who translated the history of Sanchoniathon from the Phœnician language into Greek, presents us the following extract from the original, in his pre-

* St Justin *Apologist* c. 1. Vide also Eusebius, *Prep. evangél.* vii. c. 2, p. 313, and Alfred Maury's *Revue archéologique*, première et second ann.

face: "The most ancient of the barbarians, especially the Egyptians and the Phoenicians, from whom other people derived this custom, accounted those the *greatest gods* who had found out things most necessary and useful in life, and had been benefactors to mankind. These they worshipped *as gods*, and applying their temples to this use they consecrated to their names pillars and statues of wood, which the Phoenicians held in high veneration, and instituted the most solemn festivals in their honor. More especially did they give the names of their kings to the mundane elements, and to other things to which they attributed divinity. For physical beings alone, such as the sun, moon, planets and elements and things of the same kind, did they acknowledge to be strictly and properly gods. So that some of their gods were *mortal* and others *immortal*." It does not appear that they had any idea of a Creator or Supreme Ruler of the universe, or of any genius of evil, whose power was universal. They had their good and bad daemons; but all were human.

When Pythagoras travelled among the Egyptians he was surprised to find that their gods and daemons were for the most part identical with those of the Greeks. The same identity was observed by Herodotus, and he also remarked that the Egyptians worshipped human spirits—men and women deified after their death for their good actions during life. Hermes Thesmestus who had also visited the country and obtained information from every source he could, declared that both the gods and daemons of Egypt were dead men; that the ghosts of the great, good and illustrious were the friends and protectors of mankind, while the ghosts of the murderers, robbers and liars were the enemies and persecutors of mankind.

Diodorus Siculus, who is a better authority than either Hermes or Herodotus bears testimony to the same general facts. He tells us that besides the sun, moon and seven primary planets which the Egyptians called the eternal gods, they also worshipped as gods "such as were taken from the earth."² Several of their gods, he adds, had been kings of

² E. L. W. vol. pp. 11, 17. See, also, Annot. Civ. Del. I. xviii., c. 25.

Egypt, and some of them bore the same names as the celestial gods. All our readers know that the principal gods of Egypt were Isis and Osiris, and Diodorus claims to have no doubt that these divinities had been king and queen of Egypt.

If we turn from the Egyptians to the Hindoos, we shall find that both the Brahmins and the Buddhists have their mortal as well as immortal gods—their malignant demons as well as their beneficent demons. Neither the Greeks, the Romans, nor any other ancient people had so large a number of the former as the Hindoos; but the latter also regard their demoniac enemies and persecutors as the ghosts of wicked men who died without duly atoning for their sins. In the island of Ceylon these wicked spirits have a sort of outpost hell, from which they make incursions throughout the peninsula of India, sometimes passing the Himalay range to aid their brethren on the northern side in doing all the mischief they can. The Buddhist priests boast of having to contend with six different classes of these demons; and numerous as each fraternity is, it seems they would not discard any of them lest they might lose their influence and authority over the masses. The various grades are classified as follows in their sacred books; 1, those who are suffering infernal torments; 2, those who for punishment are made to die and revive successively; 3, those who follow the Wana-warty or rebel chief of the Deva-loka, and ascend from the earth to fight Buddha; 4, the Asouras, subject to Wiebesana, who assist Schraia and inhabit the Deva-loka, or hell, awaiting the judgment of mortals, in order to inflict upon them the punishment to which they are condemned; 5, the diabolical serpents and magicians; 6, the demons subject to Bali who have to answer incantations, &c.⁶

The Persians and the Chinese have borrowed their divinities, good, bad and indifferent from the Hindoos, or, as some think from the Egyptians. Wherever they got them each have, or at least had, a numerous host, and a large variety including male and female. Of their characteris-

⁶ *Vipera, History and Outline of Buddhism*, pp. 329, 330.

tics it will be sufficient to say here that they are quite as bad as those of the divinities of Greece and Rome. Even the Peris, beautiful and amiable as they appear in Eastern poetry, are supposed to do much more harm than good; although of all the Persian *genii* they are the least disposed to injure man. Like the Fairies of the Irish they become the protectors of certain families, and often fight among themselves in defence of their protégés; but in the end the latter are apt to be as badly off, according to the common opinion, as if they had no such zealous, invisible guardians to watch over them.

Nor can any better character be given of the Chinese demons who are supposed to fill the land, the sea and the air. There are some of them called the *Chin*, whose business it is to act as winged messengers between heaven and earth, so as to keep the celestial gods fully advised as to what is passing here below. These have it in their power to exaggerate the faults of men; but the priests have the power of preventing them from doing so. At least they claim that power; and most of the people believe them. The importance of restraining this class of demons will be the more evident when it is remembered that after they have made their report they are empowered by the superior gods to seek out the malefactors and inflict condign punishment on them, but without entirely destroying life. They may deprive them of their wives and children, and of all their goods and chattels; and they may afflict them with the most loathsome and painful maladies, so that life becomes a burden to them. Yet some think that this class are not so bad as the *Chi* who introduce themselves into the head, the stomach, the belly, etc., and make their victims as miserable as possible.

But among all these Pagan malignant beings there is not one who is elevated to the character of an adversary of the supreme God. Jupiter, it is true, is said to be governed by the Fates; but as we have said the Fates were his own children.

Now if we turn to the ancient Hebrew writings whether sacred or profane, we shall find that they everywhere corroborate the above views in regard to the Pagan divinities of all classes. Throughout the Bible they are described as *dead*

persons; they are in all circumstances plainly distinguished from Jehovah the *living* God; and called demons or *Schim*. The Hebrew writers did not consider them mere myths, however, but *strange* gods (*Elohim acherim*); beings superior in themselves, though of mortal origin. Nor did they regard the infernal deities of the Egyptians or Chaldeans, as opposed to their celestial deities; but doubtless this was because they had no such idea of their own Satan, whom they considered not as the enemy but the servant of Jehovah.

In short, in these early times none seem to have had such a bad opinion of the infernal divinities as became general some centuries afterwards. It is true that devils are frequently mentioned in the English version of the Bible, but very seldom, if ever, correctly. The term devil would do very well were it not that the Hebrew writers had no such opinion of their Satan as Christians have. In general, the Jews regarded him as merely the angel of death which was inevitable to all; at worst they considered him only as Jehovah's minister of justice; the obedient instrument, by which the Almighty punished those who violated his laws.

Even in Job where Satan does most mischief, if we except what took place in the garden of Eden, he does not appear as the adversary of God. What we are told by the inspired writers, it should be remembered, is, that when the sons of God came to present themselves before the Lord, Satan came also among them.* However much disposed he may have been to put the uprightness and piety of Job to a severe test; however willing or anxious he is to afflict him, he does nothing to him without the permission of Jehovah. It may be said, indeed, that he behaves ill; but nothing worse than a bad servant having the power might be supposed to do. Finally, Jehovah gives him authority: "Behold he is in thine hand, but save his life!"† This is in strict accordance with the general Hebrew faith, that Satan was the angel of death.

The misfortune of Satan, according to the Jews of this time was, not that he was in open rebellion against Jehovah, or even that he was the enemy of mankind, but that

* C. II. v. 1.

† Ib. v. 6.

of all the servants of the Almighty he had to execute the worst commissions. None of our readers need think that there is any infidelity or heresy in these views. We are sustained in them by the most pious and orthodox of the Christian fathers, including Sts. Augustine, Justin Martyr, Jerome, &c. It is true that the Satan of the Chaldeans was regarded as the original cause of all evil, and as the enemy of Ormuzd, their supreme divinity; but the Chaldeans were Pagans, at least when they viewed Satan in this light. The best recent writer on the faith of the ancient Israelites is M. Henrick, of Berlin, who, we believe, is an Israelite himself. In his excellent work on the origin and character of Hebrew and Arabic poetry, he tells us that "The character of the angels mentioned in the ancient Hebrew books is entirely different from that assigned to them at a later period. In the book of Job we see them accomplish the designs of God. They protect men, and plead before the Eternal in their favor; and they are exempt neither from sin nor from faults; the notions of Satan, considered only as a genius of evil, present themselves only in books much more recent than that of Job."*

In those more recent books the character of Satan has greatly degenerated. However, if we had time and space to trace him through all, we could easily show how gradual this degeneracy has been, but we can only refer to an instance here and there, almost at random. Thus, in the Chronicles, which are regarded by all commentators as among the latest books of the Bible, we are informed that "Satan stood up against Israel and provoked David to number Israel."†

Still more powerful and more inimical to man has Satan become in Zachariah, which is a still more recent book than the Chronicles—probably one of the most recent of all the books of the Old Testament. In this he appears as the open adversary of the Angel of the Lord, and Jehovah rebukes him for his arrogance. "And he showed me Joshua the high priest standing before the angel of the Lord, and Satan standing at his right hand to resist him. And the Lord said unto Satan,

* *De Poësiâ Hebraicâ at que biblicâ origine, indole et duoque consensu.* Lips. p. 19.

† First. Chron. I.

"The Lord rebuke thee, O Satan; is not this a brand plucked out of the fire?"*

In the New Testament this degeneracy continues until Satan becomes the wicked and frightful monster which all orthodox Christians regard him at the present day, although neither the evangelists nor the apostles make him quite so bad as he appears in our English version of the New Testament, in which, as we have already intimated, he is frequently confounded with beings of much less power, as well as less malignity; the term demons being almost invariably represented by devils.

We might fill pages with examples of this, but one or two will suffice. Thus, in 1st Corinthians, we read that "The things which the Gentiles sacrifice, they sacrifice to *devils* and not to God, and I would not that we have fellowship with *devils*; we cannot be partakers of the Lord's table and the table of devils."† The word in the original in each case is *δαίμονα* (demons.) It is the same in 1st Timothy, where the Apostle speaks of "giving heed to doctrines of devils."‡ The apostle James uses the term demons also in the passage translated, "The *devils* believe and tremble."§ In all these instances it is the human deities of the heathen that are alluded to, according to the most reliable commentators. It is not the less true, however, that the character of Satan, as given by both evangelists and apostles, fully justifies Milton's portraiture of the arch-fiend.

The fathers of the church accepted Satan as he was thus presented to them, and who can say that they were wrong in doing so? There is nothing absurd, or incredible in the idea that Satan has been growing more and more wicked and mischievous from the time he tempted Eve until the last book of the New Testament was written—nay, until Milton wrote his *Paradise Lost*. And if we believe that Satan has changed, why not believe also that the demons, or terrestrial divinities have degenerated in a similar ratio? But this, perhaps, is irrelevant; we mention it only because we would not be under-

* Zach. iii. 12.

† Ch. x. 20-21.

‡ Ch. x. 1v.

§ Ch. ii. 19.

stood, even by the most thoughtless to sneer at a dogma which has been accepted by all denominations of orthodox Christians, especially by "reformed" Christians.

We have shown, in a former article, how malignant Satan had become in Luther's time, and how cruelly he tormented the great Reformer while engaged in reconstructing the Christian religion. Some excellent authorities are of opinion that the Evil One attained the culminating point of his wickedness just at this time. It is true that others whose authority is by no means to be despised, think that Satan must have become insane; this being the only hypothesis by which they can account, in any orthodox or rational manner, for his throwing the ink bottle at the reformer's head, and making such a terrible clatter about his bed-room at night, that he could not sleep when he was most in need of repose. Without attempting to decide whether the devil was in his right mind or not at this time, we, who are not theologians may venture to remark that his conduct to Luther as described by the great reformer himself in his Table Talk, was much more like that of a monkey than a "roaring lion." It is true that Luther had no idea that there was but one devil; his works everywhere show that he firmly believed there were "legions of devils." But he thought the inferior devils were intended only for inferior people; whereas Beelzebub himself found it necessary to bestow his attentions on the great—especially on those possessed of missions to found new religions.

We have made this remark in relation to the founder of our reformed religion, to show that the satanic degeneracy by no means ceased during the apostolic times; it continued to increase at least until the Reformation. In proof of this we refer to the works of Calvin, Knox, Henry VIII., &c.; and we ask our readers whether the fact may not account for the extraordinary zeal with which Catholics and Protestants burned, and otherwise mutilated each other in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries?

The devils and demons of the old church were, indeed, bad and numerous enough. Chrysostom numbers among the favors of Providence to sinful man that when the air is

full of demons and adverse powers we do not discern them ; for the sight of them might frighten us out of our wits, if not to death.* Still more gloomy is the picture drawn by St. Thomas Aquinas, whose superior authority may be regarded as settling the question as to the status and character of the whole tribe of infernal divinities in his time. "The demons," says the Angel of the Schools, "are impure spirits, enemies of the human race, reasonable, subtile in their malice, eager to hurt, arrogant, constantly forming new artifices, being able to modify our senses, to corrupt our hearts, to trouble our repose, agitating us by dreams during our sleep, causing maladies, exciting tempests, incessantly transporting hell with them, causing themselves to be adored as idols, seeking to control good men, authors of magic arts created to prove the good, and always trying to ensnare man, so that they may make their own of him at last."†

This, as we have said, was bad enough ; but did not the Reformation make the devil and his emissaries still worse ? Before Luther's time the sinner had some hope of escaping ; even when devils took possession of him they could be exorcised ; prayers and holy water made them seek a new dwelling. Besides, great sinners were not so numerous then as they became after the Reformation ; sins that were comparatively trifling before it, became heinous after it ; nay, things that were not sins at all, or even faults, placed one in the power of the devil and his myriads of emissaries at once. The old Christians could save themselves by their good works ; but no works, however good, could save the new Christians ! Everybody sinned, and merited hell fire ; therefore the devil had power over everybody. One might do all the commandments required, and as much more as possible, Satan could retain him still in his grasp ; grace was the only thing to save him. Even after receiving this grace as a special favor there were a thousand things formerly considered harmless which cast him back again into the grasp of Beelzebub. Nay a large proportion of the new Christians

* *Opera Jour.* v. p. 157.

† *Compendium Theologiae veritatis*, lib. II. c. 26.

found that they had been condemned to fire and brimstone to all eternity countless ages before they were born!

Thus the power of Satan was increased by the Reformers a hundred fold; and it is acknowledged by all that the wicked grow worse and worse in proportion as their power is increased. During the last twenty years, however, Satan has seemed to be rather regaining his old character. Not, indeed, but there has been as much mischief in the world during that period as ever, perhaps somewhat more. But the adversary has kept remarkably quiet; he has seldom exhibited his cloven foot even in the worst society, and still more rarely has he thrown ink bottles at the heads of doctors of divinity for their efforts to put the world on their guard against his machinations. Who then can deny that instead of continuing to grow worse, as in the past ages, he has considerably improved in his general conduct during the last quarter of a century? If he only continues to mend at the same rate during the next quarter of a century he will be no worse than he was in the time of the good St. Thomas. This would leave him bad enough still, it is true, but he would then be under the control of the clergy, and no longer the "roaring lion" or hyena he has been for some centuries past. We are not of those who have any objections to his being made amenable once more to holy water.

It is a very common opinion in Protestant countries at the present day that it is the Catholics who make most use of Satan. A great many jokes are indulged in against "mother Church," by well meaning Protestants, on this ground; but we wish to put such on their guard against exposing themselves to the charge of ignorance. They have only to examine a portion of our Protestant literature with tolerable carefulness, without troubling themselves with theology, or any other abstract science. They might begin, for example, with Butler's *Hudibras*. This would show them that in the good old Puritan times there was a constant struggle on the part of the devil to do all the mischief in his power, and that there were notorious daily evidences of his success. His power was so great that poor sinners were almost afraid to eat their food on the Sabbath day, lest he

might seize on them. As for preparing their meals on Sunday, as on other days, there was scarcely any hope for those who were so impious as to do it. If they attempted to take any recreation it was nearly as bad. All profane singing; all songs not divinely inspired, empowered Satan to act at once. As for dancing on the Sabbath it was like the sin against the Holy Ghost. Nay, it was satanical to be learned in anything but Scripture; even ministers of the Gospel were supposed to be in danger of fire and brimstone if they attempted to learn Greek or Latin, especially the latter, which had then become "the language of anti-Christ."

All this seemed very absurd, though amusing to the author of *Hudibras*, yet there was authority for it. Even the shoemakers, barbers and tailors, who ascended the pulpit to protect their honest neighbors from the machinations of Satan could show that the new code was orthodox. Not only had they before their eyes Luther's "Conference with the devil," in the largest type, but also the kindred performances of Calvin at Geneva. What these were would seem incredible at the present day, even to the most intolerant advocates of blue laws. We can only mention in passing, two or three of the grave offences against which these laws were directed. Audin informs us that "They punished with imprisonment the lady who arranged her hair with too much coquetry, and even her chambermaid who assisted in her toilet; the merchant who played at cards; the peasant who spoke too harshly to his beast; and the citizen who had not extinguished his lamp at the hour appointed by law."* The same historian tells us that "A merchant who sold wafers with a cross was fined sixty sols; and his wafers were cast into the fire as idolatrous,"† and that "Three tanners were put in prison for three days on bread and water, for having eaten at breakfast three dozen pieces of pastry."

Of course, all this was done, and a good deal more of the same kind, for the benefit of the transgressors and of those

* *Hist. de la Vie, des Ouvrages et des Doctrines de Calvin*, vol. ii. p. 12.

† *Ib.*, p. 173.

who might have imitated their bad example if they had not been duly punished. The thing was not done because the pious law-makers did not love the people, and respect their liberties, but because they feared Satan perhaps a little more than was necessary!

Milton has been greatly blamed, by certain critics, for the almost unlimited power which he has bestowed on Satan, in his *Paradise Lost*, some maintaining that he has made him the hero of his great epic, rather than the Almighty. It must be admitted that he has made him a great personage; but had he assigned him a lower rank in power or influence he could not have given a faithful portraiture of the new theology; and be it remembered that it is the duty of an epic poet to represent things not as they really are, but as they are believed to be by the majority of his readers. Milton must, therefore, be regarded by every fair and unprejudiced critic as fully justified in this respect, although under one name or another, he has introduced the devil more than one hundred and fifty times in his *Paradise Lost*. Under the name of Satan alone he appears sixty-nine or seventy times; and in no Catholic work, that we have ever seen, does he attain such gigantic proportions. Thus, we are told,

"On the other side, Satan, alarmed
Collecting all his might, dilated stood,
Like Teneriff or Atlas unrenowned;
His stature reached the sky."—IV. 385.

Beelzebub, the next in power, is not quite so huge; but we read—

"Sage he stood,
With *Atlas*'s shoulders fit to bear
The weight of mightiest monarchies."—II., 305.

A considerable number of Milton's devils are thus described in turn, including Azazel, Satan's standard-bearer, at whose sight on the morning of battle,

"The universal host up sent
A shout that *hell's* *columns* and beyond
Freighted the reign of *Chaos* and old *Night*."—I., 441.

The poet is equally orthodox, though more Calvinistic, than

Lutheran, in estimating the number of Satan's emissaries—

"As host
Innumerable as the stars of night
Or stars of morning, dew drops, which the sun
Impearls on every leaf and every flower."—V. 713.

Thus, without reading any other works than those of Milton, Butler and Audin—one a poet, the other a historian—it would be seen by any unprejudiced, intelligent reader, that if either party have reason to laugh at the other for making a little too much of Satan, it is the Catholics who have reason to laugh at the Protestants; and we may add that the former have laughed accordingly—some of them in rather a provoking manner. Nor need we go beyond our own Protestant country for a very excellent specimen of this sort of railery. The highest dignitary of the Catholic church in America, while commenting, in a learned and valuable work which we have quoted, as a reliable authority, more than once, on the relations which the great reformer was said, by his own brethren, to have with Satan, makes the following remarks: "Luther himself relates his 'conference with the devil' in full, and acknowledges, at the close of it that he was unable to answer the arguments of Satan!*" The devil, as was quite natural, argued against the lawfulness of private Masses, which Luther feebly defended: and so convincing were the reasons of his Satanical majesty, that Luther wrote to his intimate friend, Melancthon, immediately after, 'I will not again celebrate private masses for ever.'"+ And he faithfully kept his promise! It was a favorite saying of his that "unless we have the devil hanging about our necks we are but pitiful, speculative theologians."‡

The difficulty is that we cannot deny how well founded these anti-satanic jokes are; we must frankly admit that, judging by the views of the chief reformer, the "reconstructed" church had as much need of the devil, or, at least, was as much in his power as any other church whatever, not excepting that of the Brahmins or Buddhists.

* Vide his *De Missâ*.

† Sed et ego amplius non faciam missam privatam in æternum—Ad Melaneth. Aug. 1, 1521.

‡ Nisi diabolum habemus collo affixum nihil nisi speculativi theologi sumus. *Colloquia Mensalia*, fol. 23. Apud Audin, I, 336.

History of the Prot. Reformation in Germany and Switzerland, &c., &c. By M. J. Spalding, D.D., Archbishop of Baltimore, vol. I, p. 20.

- ART. II.—*La Civilization au cinquième Siècle* par A. FREDERIC OZANAM, Professeur de la Littérature Etrangère, a la Faculté de Lettres de Paris.
2. *Histoire Universelle de l'Eglise chrétienne.* Par M. MATTER : Strasbourg, 1835.
 3. *Histoire de la Chute du Paganisme dans l'Occident.* Par M. LE COMTE BEUGNOT : Paris.
 4. *Sacred Latin Poetry, chiefly Lyrical, selected and arranged for use ; with Notes and Introduction :* by RICHARD CHENEVIX TRENCH, D. D., Archbishop of London. London : 1864.
 5. *Where were our Gospels written ! An Argument* by CONSTANTINE TISCHENDORF ; *With a narrative of the discovery of the Sinaitic Manuscript.*

ONE of the most remarkable signs of the present time is the prominent place which the discussion of Christian antiquities holds in the current literature of the day. There seems to be a revival of that spirit which was so active in the third, fourth, and fifth centuries of the Church, and which gave to the world such men as Origen, Eusebius, and Jerome. There is as great a diversity of sects now, as then ; and as great contention as to the origin, history, and interpretation of the sacred records as prevailed between the Gnostics, the Marcionites, the Arians, and other heretics on the one side, and the orthodox Christians on the other.

The authenticity of the books of the Bible was constantly disputed by some and upheld by others. One sect, for instance, would reject the Apocalypse altogether, while another would accept it as a book for use in the church, but deny that it was written by the apostle John. Each of the canonical gospels had its adversaries and its defenders ; while a number of apocryphal gospels were at the same time put forward as of equal authenticity with, or supplementary to, them. There were unbelieving philosophers, and philosophizing Christians in those days, who refined

away all that savours of the supernatural or of divine interference, just as the disciples of the modern rationalist school of Germany do in these.

But there has been a long interval between the former and the latter. After the subsidence of the great Arian controversy, and the Donatist schism in the fourth and fifth centuries, orthodoxy assumed the lead, and so firmly established its claims to the homage of mankind that for many centuries all efforts to shake its authority proved futile, and brought destruction on those who made them. For a thousand years the Church ruled over the western world with irresistible strength, and it was not until the sixteenth century that blows were struck at the supremacy which shook it to the foundation. From the days of Luther and Calvin down to the present time there has been a continual widening of the breach between the mother church and her "protesting" children; and the latter have split up into a variety of sects which it would not be an easy task to enumerate or describe.

Fortunately for us, we are now called upon to undertake such a labour; our present object being simply to draw attention to the tendency which religious thought has developed in our time, and to point out the abounding interest which the subject of Christian antiquities possesses, not merely for the divine and the scholar, but for all who will take the trouble to read and think for themselves.

Within the last forty years there has been produced a much greater amount of literature relating to the origin of Christianity and the history of its early records, than has appeared for many centuries previously. In all ages attacks have been made upon the authority of both, and in recent times Spinoza, Hobbes, Hume, Voltaire, Priestley, and their followers, have been no mean adversaries; but in their day the world—that is, the Christian world—was rather scandalized than alarmed by the efforts made by these men to prove the absurdity and the improbability of the miracles on which Christianity rests. Their writings had but a very limited effect on the religious community at large, though they leavened the minds of thousands who had been predis-

posed by political ambition and domestic tyranny, as in France and Germany, to rebel against all authority, civil or ecclesiastical. With persons of this description it was an easy step from throwing off their allegiance to the church to throwing off their allegiance to its founder. Our grandfathers, who remained faithful to the principles instilled into them in childhood, were content with such answers to the infidels as were put forth from time to time by the learned doctors of the Church.

The adversaries of the faith in modern times, however, have resorted to the sap and mine, rather than to the battering ram of old, or the heavy artillery of to-day. They pull to pieces in detail; they do not so much deny facts, as question the evidence on which the facts are to be believed. This system provides endless employment both for assailant and assailed; and it has been perseveringly used by the modern German theologians, critics, and scholars. The Bible has been thoroughly "overhauled" and dissected, root and branch; its smallest fibres have been subjected to analysis, and the result has been the accumulation of an amount of learning and knowledge respecting the history and antiquities of the East, and of the Jews and the early Christians, which renders the works of Taylor, Warburton, and other divines of the last century, obsolete.

Add to these critical and scholarly investigations the numerous works of travellers and explorers, whose labours have, within the present century, shed so much light upon the topography of the countries wherein occurred the incidents recorded in Scripture, and which have strikingly developed the fulfilment of prophecy, and the truthfulness of the Bible pictures of oriental life; and it is evident that we of the present day possess materials for forming opinions on vexed points, and for testing new theories, as well as old ones, which give us an enormous advantage over the last generation. In this respect the works of Strauss Weisse, Gfrörer, Bauer, Renan, Schenkel, and others have been of use; they have necessitated, on the part of those who are now called upon to stand forth as champions of the Christian Church, the cultivation of a very much deeper know-

ledge of Hebrew, Greek, and their cognate languages, and of the early Christian history and literature, as well as of the history and antiquities of the old world, than formerly sufficed for the most eminent scholars. A recent writer says "The Christian world is more indebted to Germany and her skeptical writers for light respecting the scriptures, than to all the orthodox commentators from the age of the fathers to their time; for their attacks and their assiduity in their efforts to overthrow scripture have led to the formation of nearly all the intelligent biblical literature that we have; for when they did not themselves furnish that light, they opened the avenues and stirred up a new field of Christian inquiry, showing that God uses whom He will." And Dr. Stowe, in his work on "The Origin and History of the Books of the Bible" (p. 252) justly remarks that "the German unbelief cannot now be successfully encountered without the help of German learning. The antidote is scarcely to be found except where the poison grows. The climes which yield the most noxious plants are the very climes which produce the most effective medicines, the sweetest fruit, the most luxurious vegetation."

Few persons, besides those whose profession naturally leads them to the subject, are aware of the extent and variety of the early Christian literature. Under this head we include not only those evangelical and apostolical writings which form the canon of the New Testament and are now universally received as the foundation of all Christian doctrine; but those apocryphal compositions which were written, or were said to have been written, by the apostles, or by their associates or disciples, and which passed under the names of gospels, epistles, acts, revelations, visions, traditions, hymns, doctrine, preaching, judgment, &c.; and also the histories and commentaries of the Christian ecclesiastics of the first four centuries. Many of these productions have been entirely lost. Some have come down to us entire, others in a mutilated or fragmentary form; while of others, again, there remain only such extracts as are found in the writings of Origen, Eusebius, Jerome, and others, who quoted from them while they discussed their merits.

Many of our readers will be surprised to learn that at one time, in the second century, there were no fewer than thirty-eight gospels in existence, some of which actually claimed to be the originals of, and equal in authority to, the four canonical gospels. There were fourteen books passing under the title of Acts, exclusive of the authentic Acts of the Apostles. It has been said that there were two hundred epistles attributed to the apostle Paul which were then in circulation. We have a list of thirty-one epistles by various authors, besides the twenty-one which form part of the New Testament. There were six books styled "Revelations," besides the apocalypse of St. John, and there were twelve "books," properly so called, attributed for the most part to the apostles. Besides all these there were miscellaneous writings which do not fall exactly under any of these heads; such were the Apostles' Creed, the Hymn which Jesus taught to his disciples, and those books which were known under the names of the "the Traditions of Matthew," "the doctrine of Peter," "the preaching of Peter," "the judgment of Peter," "the preaching of Paul," and the like.

Here we have one hundred and thirty-five books and writings of various kinds, of which twenty-seven were the genuine productions of inspired writers, the remaining one hundred and eight being apocryphal, that is to say, of doubtful authenticity. Of the hundred and thirty-five, there are extant thirty-six, and the remaining sixty-nine have been lost. The titles of some of these lost books would be sufficient to stifle any regret we might feel at their disappearance; such, for instance, as "the Arabic gospel of Joseph, the carpenter," "the Gospel of Truth," "the Gospel of Encratites," "the epistle of Christ to Peter and Paul," "the general epistle of Christ," (produced by the Manichees), "the Epistle of Themison, the Montanist," "the Book of the Helkasaites," "the Book of Lentitius," "the Revelation of Cerinthus" (the heretic), &c.

The apocryphal religious literature of the early centuries of the Christian era was, indeed, abundant enough to satisfy the cravings of an ordinary appetite; for to the works

above mentioned must be added those connected with the Old Testament and the Jews. A very large portion of the Old Testament Apocrypha has been lost; but it is difficult, if not impossible, to say exactly how, when, or where. The many national convulsions which befel the Jews are, however, sufficient to account for the disappearance of their literature, and the wonder is, rather that so much has been preserved, than that so much has been lost. When we reflect upon the devastations committed in Palestine from time to time by Philistine, Syrian, Egyptian, Assyrian, Babylonian, Arab, Persian, Greek, and Roman, to say nothing of the intestine feuds which constantly prevailed among the Jews themselves—we may well believe that a Divine hand alone could have preserved to us the Old Testament scriptures. We may go a step further and say that the same power has preserved all that was necessary for us, and that what has perished would have been useful merely as illustrative of the history or of the modes of thought prevalent in that part of the world in those days.

But here, again, our readers (meaning, of course, those who have not made this department of literature their study) will be surprised at the number and variety of the Old Testament apocryphal writings, including therein the lost books. There are thirty-six "books" and writings referred to by name in the Old Testament, all of which have perished, excepting such portions thereof as have been incorporated in the text of Scripture, as has been the case with those from which the books of Kings and Chronicles were compiled. The number of apocryphal, or doubtful books, is twenty-two, and nearly all of them were written between the end of the third century before Christ and the second century after Christ, a period of about four hundred years. During this period were compiled those eminently Jewish oracles, the Talmud and the Targum, with their addenda and commentaries thereon by a host of learned men like Hillel, Shammai, Gamaliel, Philo, Josephus, Akiva, Meir, Simon, Eliezer, Jehuda, and others, whose works would form a library in themselves. Thus, apart from the canonical Scriptures (old and new), there are upwards of two hun-

dred works to which the student of theological and ecclesiastical literature could devote his attention in the fourth century of the Christian era.

But these were not all. Between the time of the apostles and the end of the fourth century upwards of one hundred writers, some of them Jews, some orthodox Christians, others heretics, pagans, and infidels, produced works of more or less merit in reference to Christianity. Some assailed it, and others defended it, or "apologized" for it (a favourite phrase in those days, when the word had a different signification attached to it from that which it now has). Others commented on the then current Christian literature, defending the orthodox interpretation of Scripture or putting their own upon it.

Many of these men were voluminous writers, whose works have rendered incalculable service to the Church, and some of them have ever since been dignified by the title of "Father." Among these Fathers of the Church were Ambrose, bishop of Milan, Athanasius, Basil of Caesarea, Chrysostom, Clement of Rome (the friend and fellow labourer of the apostle Paul), Clement of Alexandria, Cyprian, Cyril of Alexandria, Dionysius of Alexandria (surnamed the Great), Epiphanius, Eusebius (the historian of the early Church), Gregory of Nazianzen, Jerome (the author of the common Latin version of the Bible called the Vulgate), Hilary of Poitiers, Ignatius, bishop of Antioch (a disciple of the apostle John), Irenæus, bishop of Lyons, Justin Martyr, Melito, bishop of Sardis, Origen, and Polycarp (a disciple of the apostle John).

The education of a doctor of the Church is incomplete without some acquaintance with the works of these illustrious men and of their opponents, pagan and heretic, such as Celsus, Montanus, Tertullian, Arius, Marcian, Julian the Apostate, Sabellius, Theodotus, and Valentinus. The works of the Christian writers of the first four centuries fill several hundred volumes, and had those men had the facilities which exist at the present day for publishing their thoughts to the world, their writings would doubtless have been much more voluminous. As it is, there is matter enough in them to

occupy more time in the study of them than can now be spared by any but those whose professional duty it is to be masters of ecclesiastical literature; added to which must be taken into consideration the fact that, in order to understand and appreciate these works properly, it is necessary that he who studies them should possess a competent knowledge of Greek and Latin, and the more Hebrew he can bring to his assistance the better.

Some modern skeptical writers think that had those books which have been lost been handed down to us, many things which are obscure in the scriptures would have been explained, and that doctrines which are now generally accepted as those held by the early Christians would appear in a different light. The best answer that can now be given to such surmises—for they do not amount to arguments—is that these books were ridiculed and condemned by most of those who read them, and who were best qualified to judge of their merits, and that they perished from existence and almost from memory on account of their worthlessness.

One of the books which the world has "willingly let die" is "the Book of Jannes and Mambres," whence (according to Origen) the apostle Paul derived his information respecting the two magicians which he makes use of in the 2d Epistle to Timothy, iii., 8. Origen tells us that this was "a secret book," by which he means, probably, a book relating to the secret art of magic, by which Jannes and Mambres were enabled to withstand Moses, to turn rods into serpents and rivers into blood, and to bring up frogs over the land. (Exodus, vii. viii.) We may also fairly infer from their titles that the gospel of Eve, the gospel of Judas Iscariot, the gospel of Perfection, the gospel of Truth, and the other lost books before mentioned, were about on a par with "the Book of Jannes and Mambres," as regards utility and veracity; and that some of them contained legends of the most extravagant character, such as the exploits or "Acts" of the apostles Andrew and Matthias in the city of the cannibals, and their contests with the devil (cited by Dr. Stowe in his "Origin and History of the Books of the Bible"), or reli-

gious myths like the famous "Legion of the Cross," as given by Didron in his *Iconographie Chretienne*.

This legend, by the way, being one of the shortest as well as one of the most favourable specimens of this class of fable in vogue among the Christians of the middle ages, but founded mainly on early ecclesiastical and Jewish rabbinical traditions, we quote here: "After the death of Adam, Seth planted on the tomb of his father a shoot from the tree of life which grew in the terrestrial Paradise. From it sprang three little trees united by one single trunk. And from one of these Moses gathered the rod with which he astonished the Egyptians and the people in the desert. Solomon desired to convert the same tree, which had become gigantic in size, into a column for his palace, but being either too short or too long, it was rejected, and served as a bridge over a torrent. The queen of Sheba refused to pass over that tree, declaring that it would one day occasion the destruction of the Jews. Solomon then commanded that it should be thrown into the pool of Bethesda, and its virtues were immediately communicated to the waters. When Christ was condemned to death his cross was made of the wood of that very tree. It was buried on Golgotha, and afterwards discovered by the empress Helena (the mother of Constantine the Great). It was carried away from Palestine by Chosroes, king of Persia, who flattered himself that in possessing it he possessed the Son of God, and he caused it to be enthroned on his right hand; but it was brought back in triumph to Jerusalem by the emperor Heraclius. Being afterwards dispersed in a multitude of fragments throughout the Christian world, countless miracles were performed by it. The wood of the cross was born with the world in the terrestrial Paradise; it will re-appear in heaven at the end of time, borne in the arms of Christ or of his angels, when the Lord shall descend to judge the world at the last day."

The millennium was a subject which exercised men's minds in early times, much as it does now, and there seems to have been as great a diversity of opinions as to the true interpretation of the Apocrypha as there is at present. The

Christians of the apostolic times appear to have shared in the belief which some have attributed to the apostles, that the Lord would come during the lifetime of that generation, and they therefore troubled themselves little about the prophecy, but contented themselves with waiting for the event. But as time passed away and the first and second generations of Christians passed away with it, and there were no indications of the Lord's presence, men began to perceive that the Revelation of St. John admitted of another interpretation, and that the time of the second advent was uncertain. Then arose contention among them, which at length produced serious results among the fiery oriental converts of Asia and Africa.

It is to be noted, however, that amid all these disputes, the fact that the apocrypha was the genuine production of the apostle John was not called in question for nearly two centuries after it was written, and it was not until the third century that doubts were started as to its being an apostolical work. The way in which this first occurred is so peculiar as to be worthy of particular notice. About the year (A. D.) 230, Nepos, bishop of Arsinoë, in Egypt, published a book under the title of "Refutation of the Allegorists," in which he advocated the doctrine of the personal reign of Christ upon earth for a thousand years—popularly called the millennium—and he sustained it principally by quotations from the Apocrypha.

This book met with great success, and Nepos made many converts, who began to secede from the mother Church at Alexandria, which opposed their notions. After the death of Nepos, A. D. 255, Coracion, the pastor of a country church, took the lead in propagating the same sentiments. Dionysius, bishop of Alexandria, wishing to put an end to this dispute, but unwilling to fulminate ecclesiastical thunders, which he knew would only irritate his opponents without subduing or converting them, went into the province of Arsinoë, where the seceders were most numerous, and proposed an amicable conference with them. They agreed to this, and met him with their leader, Coracion, at their head, and the book of Nepos was carefully read and its arguments

were examined and discussed. Dionysius spent three days in reasoning with them, and by his mildness and forbearance and the force of his arguments satisfied them that they were wrong. And so thoroughly did he gain their good will that Coracion, in the name of all the rest, thanked him for his kindness and his instructions, and declared that they renounced their own opinions and adopted his.

The sequel, however, (as related by Neander in his "Church History," part I.) is the curious portion of the story. Dionysius converted Coracion and his followers, but in so doing lost his own faith in the Apocrypha! In order to secure the victory he had gained he wrote a book on the Promises; but the trouble he had in the matter led him to doubt whether the Apocrypha which had, as he supposed, done so much mischief, could be of divine authority, or, at any rate, the production of an apostle. Accordingly in his work he alluded to the fact that some had before his time rejected the book, alleging that it was altogether dark and entirely without sense or reason, and they had ascribed it to the heretic Cerinthus who lived in the time of St. John at Ephesus; but he (Dionysius) would not presume to reject it, as many of his Christian brethren held it in high estimation; he admitted that he could not understand it, but would not on that account reject it; he, however, could not believe it was written by the apostle, but would admit that it was written by a man named John, who was a holy and *inspired* man! This admission of the learned bishop's, that the Apocrypha was not written by the apostle John but by an inspired man of that name, reminds us forcibly of the Frenchman's criticism on the authorship of the plays usually attributed to Shakspeare, wherein, after a careful review of the evidence *pro* and *con*, he comes to the conclusion that they were not written by Shakspeare but *by another man of the same name!*

Dionysius being in a dilemma, owing mainly to the natural candor and honesty of his disposition which could not entirely bend to the errors of his judgment, felt himself constrained to admit that it was a John who wrote the Revelation, because the writer of it said so, but added that

it was uncertain what John it was. His idea was that a certain John, surnamed the *Presbyter*, whose monument was to be seen at Ephesus as well as that of the apostle, was the real author. We have no intention of going into an investigation of the subject, but merely cite the case of Dionysius of Alexandria in illustration of the mode in which heresies were sometimes engendered in the Church in those days. The controversy thus set on foot by him (based as it was upon nothing but his own inability to understand the Apocalypse, and not upon any historical testimony, which, in fact, was all against him) continued for many centuries, and wherever it prevailed the anti-millennialists felt the same anxiety as Dionysius had to rid themselves of the authority of the Apocalypse, as the only way to overcome the difficulties with regard to the prediction that the saints should live and reign with Christ a thousand years.

The rapid growth of the early literature of the Christian Church is one of the most remarkable features of those times. The earthly mission of our Lord terminated in his crucifixion in the year 33. Between that event and the martyrdom of the apostles Peter and Paul under Nero, A. D. 66, elapsed 33 years. During that period were written three of the canonical gospels and all of the epistles of Paul and Peter; and before the close of the century appeared all the remaining portions of the New Testament and a number of apocryphal writings, consisting of the Epistles, Canons, "Constitutions," "Recognitions," &c., attributed to Clement, bishop of Rome; the alleged correspondence between the Roman philosopher, Seneca, and St. Paul; that between Jesus and Abgarus, king of Edessa; the general epistle of Barnabas; the acts of Pilate, said to have been written by Nicodemus, the disciple of Christ; and the writings of Hermas, a brother of Pius 1st, bishop of Rome, and a disciple of St. Paul.

Among the Jews and Jewish converts were produced about the same time the Targums of Onkelos and of Jonathan-ben-Uzziel; the 2d and 4th books of Esdras; the book of Jubilees; the letter of Jeremiah; the commentaries of Hillel, Philo, Gamaliel, and others on the Talmud; the works of

the historian Josephus, which give so full and graphic an account of the destruction of Jerusalem and the conquest of Judea by the Romans; the epistles of Ignatius to the Ephesians, Romans, Magnesians, Trallians, Philadelphians, Smyrneans, and Philippians, and to Polycarp, who was the first bishop of Smyrna, and ordained by the apostle John; and the writings of Papias, bishop of Hierapolis, in Phrygia, who was a zealous believer in the millennium, and who asserted that he was taught to believe in it by St. John himself; he was also an indefatigable collector of the traditions relating to Christ and the apostles and the early martyrs and disciples which were current in his time. The evidence of Papias is very valuable on many points.

The second century was still more prolific in apocryphal books and controversial writings. Among the former were a number of gospels attributed to the different apostles, such as the gospel of the birth and infancy of Jesus, ascribed to St. James, the like by St. Thomas, the gospel of Peter, of Bartholomew, of Thaddæus, of Matthias, of Andrew, of Jude, of Philip, of Barnabas, and of Judas Iscariot; the gospels of the birth of Jesus, the infancy of Jesus, the childhood of the Redeemer, Joseph the carpenter, the twelve Apostles, the Hebrews, the Egyptians, the Ebionites, the Eucratites, the Nazarenes, those of Apelles, Basilides, Cerinthus, Herychius, Lactanus, Merinthus, Scythianus, Tatian, and Valentinus, most of whom were heretics, and who fabricated these books to advance their own peculiar views. Also the memoirs of the twelve apostles, which work (now lost) is supposed by some to have been original memoranda of the acts and sayings of Jesus, made at the time by the apostles, and from which the evangelists subsequently framed the gospels; also the *Dinocraton* of Tatian, which was a harmony of the four canonical gospels written by Tatian, the founder of the sect of the Encratites, who rejected marriage and the use of meat and wine; he died A.D. 190. Besides all these "gospels" (so called) there were those before mentioned of *Eve*, of *Perfection*, and of *Truth*. There were histories of the acts of the apostles written by Seleucus, by Lucius, by Lentilius, by Leonitus, by Lauthen,

and those used by the Ebionites; also the acts of several of the apostles, viz., Peter, Paul, John, Thomas, and Andrew, and the martyrdom of Thekla.

Besides these there were the books, so called, of Andrew, of Christ, of Bartholomew, of the Helkasaites, of James, of John, of Lentitius, Matthew, Matthias, Paul, Peter, Thomas, with sundry revelations attributed to the same. Also the controversial writings, histories, and commentaries of more than forty men who were eminent or notorious, some for their learning, some for their piety, some for their heresy, some for their hostility to Christianity. Among the latter were the celebrated physician Celsus, and the satirist Lucian. Prominent for piety and heroism under persecution were Irenæus and Justin Martyr; for learning, Clement of Alexandria, Pamphilus, Theodotus, and Theophilus, bishop of Antioch.

But the heretics of this century were the most remarkable men and among the most learned and able writers, such were Tertullian, Marcion, Basilides, and Valentine, who taught some extraordinary doctrines. Basilides, for instance, taught that the Supreme Being produced himself from seven *Æons* or eternal ages or natures, who, again, engendered three hundred and sixty-five angels; that these angels made the world and governed it, until they quarrelled; that God then sent His own Son, Christ, the chief of the *Æons*, to restore peace; and that he united himself with the man Jesus, who was crucified by the *Æon* who presided over the Jews. This Basilides was an Egyptian, so was Valentine, who first promulgated his doctrines at Rome, whence they spread through Europe, Asia, and Africa, and as they developed the oriental philosophy they are deserving of notice.

Valentine taught that in the Pleroma, or immensity of space, there were thirty *Æons*, half male, half female, and four more of neither sex. These four were Horus, Christ, the Holy Ghost, and Jesus. The youngest of the female *Æons*, Sophia (or Wisdom) brought forth a daughter named Achamath, who, being banished from Pleroma, fell into and arranged the undigested mass of matter, and by the assistance of Jesus produced the Demiurge, or subordinate work-

man. This Deomiurge separated the animal from the terrestrial matter, and out of the former created the heavens, and out of the latter the earth. He also made man, uniting in him the subtile and grosser matter; but Achamath added to him also a spiritual and a celestial substance. Valentine further taught that this world is a compound of good and evil; whatever is good in it comes down from God, and to Him shall it return, and then the world shall be destroyed by fire. Marcion, of Pontus, believed in two principles—one good, the other evil; to these he added a third or intermediate deity, to whom he ascribed the creation of this lower world and the legislation of the Jews.

Tertullian, the most vigorous and accomplished writer and ecclesiastic of the second century, adopted (strange to say) the preposterous views of Montanus, an ignorant fanatic of Phrygia, who declared himself to be the Paraclete, or Comforter, promised by our Lord, and sent to perfect the precepts of Christ; he inculcated excessive austerity, and condemned the cultivation of literature and all care of the body. The followers of Montanus spread over Asia, Africa, and part of Europe, and were known by the name of Montanists.

The third century produced several eminent men in the Christian world. The most illustrious of them was Origen, a presbyter of Alexandria, who held that there was a mystical and spiritual, as well as a natural, mode of interpreting Scripture. He brought into prominent notice the controversy respecting the millennium and the baptism of heretics. He was a voluminous writer and commentator on the Scriptures, and to him we are indebted for a vast amount of information respecting the early ages of the Church. Julius Africanus, Arnobius, Dionysius, bishop of Alexandria, (who has been mentioned before), Cyprian, bishop of Carthage, Cyril, Minucius Felix, Hippolytus, and Lactantius, were also distinguished by their learning and writings. There were many others less distinguished but we cannot here enumerate them. A full account of them will be found in the works of Mosheim and Neander. During this century the heretics kept the Christian world in a constant ferment.

Ammonius Sacchas, of Alexandria, taught that true

philosophy came out of the East into Greece, where it was held in all its purity by Plato, but that it became corrupted and therefore Christ came to purify it. He considered the Deity and the Universe as one great whole, and he maintained the eternity of the world, the empire of Providence, and the government of mankind by demons. He commanded his disciples to mortify the flesh, in order that they might become Theurges, and able to see demons; and he asserted that Christ was the chief Theurge, or workman of God. This system of philosophy had a most injurious effect on Christianity, for its doctrines became mixed up with all kinds of theories arising out of Platonism, respecting the nature of the soul, the destiny of man, the use of reason, &c.

Manes, or Manicheus, a Persian and Magian priest, caused a great schism in the Church, and gave more trouble than any other heretics of that century. Manes asserted that he was the Comforter promised by Christ, and he taught doctrines which were a mixture of Christianity with the ancient religion of the Persians. He also insisted on the mortification of the body, and the suppression of all the natural appetites. His followers were called Manicheans, and were governed by a general assembly headed by a president who represented Christ; with him were joined twelve rulers who represented the twelve apostles, and these were followed by seventy-two bishops, representing the seventy-two disciples. These bishops had presbyters and deacons under them, and all the members of these religious orders were chosen out of the class of the elect or perfect Christians, the other class, or imperfect Christians styled "hearers" being ineligible. There were many other heresies, such as those of Noëtus, Sabellius, Hieron, Novatian, and others, which found full employment for the Christian writers of their day; but as we are not writing a history of the Church there is no occasion to give an account of them. The specimens already selected will suffice to give unlearned readers an idea of the notions which occupied the attention of the religious world in the first four centuries of the Christian era.

The fourth century may be considered the culminating period of the literature of the early Church. In it flourished those great writers and gifted men who are by common consent preëminently styled "the Fathers," viz., Ambrose, Athanasius, Eusebius, Gregory of Nazianzen, Gregory of Nyssa, and Jerome. And there were others remarkable for learning and for their controversial powers, such as Arius, Ephraem the Syrian, Isidore of Alexandria, Methodius, Rufinus, Theodoret, Paulinus, &c.

After the subsidence of the great Arian controversy, the Meletian dispute, and the Donatist war, the literary genius of Christianity began to slumber. There were no longer the stimulants of persecution and poverty to call forth its energies. When the emperor Constantine publicly embraced Christianity persecution came to an end, and the religion of the despised Nazarene became all-fashionable as well as all-prevailing. Paganism died out, and the Church had only to fear those enemies which were of her own household. She put forth all her strength to crush Arianism, Sabellianism, Manichæism, Montanism, and a variety of other *isms*, and was successful in Europe, though less so in Asia and Africa. But her literature languished from want of stimulus, and finally subsided into a very mediocre state, from which it did not emerge until the religious movements in the 14th 15th and 16th centuries roused it from its lethargy, and gave rise to an entirely new phase of controversial writing.

The cultivation of early Christian literature has received a fresh impetus from the recent successful labours of Dr. Constantine Tischendorf, the illustrious German biblical scholar, in the east. This indefatigable man, after unheard of exertion, toil, and risk, has achieved the great object of his ambition, viz., the discovery among the concealed literary treasures of the East of a genuine manuscript of the Bible of the most ancient date and of undoubted authenticity. Among a number of old parchments in the convent of St. Catharine, situated at the foot of Mount Sinai, he found upwards of forty sheets of a copy of the Old Testament in Greek. Having been allowed to take possession of these he examined them closely and found enough to

induce him to prosecute further search, and this was rewarded by the ultimate finding of the rest of the manuscript. It proved to be a complete copy of the Greek translation from the Hebrew of the Old Testament, made by seventy-two of the most learned men employed by Ptolemy, king of Egypt, for that purpose; and also the New Testament in Greek, with the entire epistle of Barnabas, and a part of "the Shepherd of Hermas." Dr. Tischendorf has given to the world, in a little volume entitled *Wann wurden unsere Evangelien verfasst?* (When were our Gospels written?) a most interesting account of his discovery and of the difficulties which he had to overcome in making it, and in obtaining the manuscript. There can be no doubt that hundreds of precious manuscripts are still lying in obscure nooks in the ancient monasteries of that continent. Could these documents be brought to light and placed in the hands of such men as Tischendorf, there is no saying what service might be rendered to biblical knowledge, and to history. To those who are blessed with wealth and have enterprise to undertake such explorations here is a rich field for their labours. Throughout Asia Minor, Armenia, western Persia, Mesopotamia, Syria, Arabia, Egypt, northern Africa, and Ethiopia, which, in the early centuries of the Church and of the time of the rise of the Saracen empire in the 8th century, were the seats of flourishing churches, and were respectively under the jurisdiction of the patriarchs or presiding bishops of Constantinople, Antioch, Alexandria, and Carthage, exist the remains of many monasteries, once wealthy and influential communities, but now the shades of poor and ignorant recluses who live in constant dread of their Mahommedan oppressors, and of the predatory hordes which infest these lands.

Here the traveller may at the same time gratify his love of adventure and a desire to immortalize his name as a benefactor of literature and of humanity. Let any one so disposed take example by Dr. Tischendorf, and consider what may be achieved by strong determination to overcome obstacles and to carry out an idea, or crotchet if you will. A long course of severe study of the Scriptures in the lan-

guages in which they were written convinced Dr. Tischendorf that many serious errors had crept into the sacred text, owing to the fact of the original writings having been copied, recopied, and multiplied by hand during the centuries which elapsed previous to the invention of printing in the 15th century. In order to rectify these errors Dr. Tischendorf formed the design of revising and examining with the utmost possible care the most ancient manuscripts of the New Testament which were to be found in the libraries of Europe, and of collecting all the Greek manuscripts which could be obtained that were more than a thousand years old, and he extended his investigations to the Apocryphal books before mentioned, and, indeed, to any manuscript which could throw light directly or indirectly on the text of Scripture. He commenced his labours in 1839 with the New Testament, using such materials as he had access to in Germany, and in the autumn of 1840 he produced his first critical edition of it. But he had become convinced that much more was to be done by a fresh examination of the original documents existing in foreign countries, and he accordingly cast about for the means of carrying out his design. He obtained a hundred dollars from the Saxon government to defray his travelling expenses for one year, and a promise of another hundred for the next. With this paltry sum he went to Paris, having when he reached that city but fifty dollars left, and not sufficient means to purchase a proper travelling suit. In Paris he continued to support himself by his pen, while he devoted his spare time to the exploration of the valuable libraries of that great city.

It was in Paris that Dr. Tischendorf made his first grand discovery. In one of the libraries was a parchment Greek manuscript, the writing of which, of the date of the fifth century, had been retouched and renewed in the seventh and again in the ninth century. In the twelfth century this parchment had been washed and pumiced in order that some one might write on it a treatise of an old Father of the Church of the name of Ephraem. Five centuries later the Swiss theologian, Wetstein, had attempted to decipher a few traces of the original manuscript; and later still, another

theologian, Griesbach of Jena, came to try his skill on it, although the librarian assured him that it was impossible for mortal eye to rediscover a trace of the writing. The French government assisted him by having recourse to powerful chemicals in order to bring out the effaced characters. These attempts failed.

But in 1841 Dr. Tischendorf tried his hand at deciphering the manuscript and succeeded completely. This brought him into favourable notice; and the king of Saxony and several eminent patrons of learning at Frankfort, Geneva, Rome and Breslau, came forward with offers of assistance. He was thus enabled to visit the great libraries of England, Holland, Switzerland, and Italy, spending three years in his labour. In April, 1844, he pushed on to the East, and in the course of that year he visited Egypt and the Coptic convents, the convents of Mount Sinai, Jerusalem, Bethlehem, St. Saba, Nazareth, Smyrna, Patmos, Beyrout, Constantinople, and Athens.

In the convent of St. Catharine, at the foot of Mount Sinai, he made the discovery which has made him famous. In the middle of the great hall of that convent he perceived a great basketful of old parchments, and the librarian told him that two heaps of similar parchments had already been committed to the flames. In this heap he found a considerable number of sheets of a copy of the Old Testament in Greek, and was allowed to take possession of about forty-five of them; but his eagerness to get possession of the rest aroused suspicions as to their value; so he was obliged to content himself with what he had got; and, having requested the monks to take care of the parchments, he returned to Germany with his treasure, which he deposited in the library of the University of Leipzig. In January, 1853, he returned to the Sinaitic convent and discovered more manuscripts. In 1856 he submitted to the emperor of Russia a plan for systematic researches in the East, and in 1858 that enlightened monarch placed the necessary funds at his disposal. In January, 1859, he again started for the East, and revisited the convent of Mount Sinai. There the steward of the convent privately showed him, not only the

fragments which fifteen years before had been taken by him out of the basket, but also other parts of the Old Testament, the New Testament complete, and, in addition, the Epistle of Barnabas, and a part of the Shepherd of Hermas.

It is to the labors and self-devotion of such men that we are indebted for much of the light thrown upon the Scriptures during the past hundred years. These German seekers after truth are content with their crust of bread and threadbare coat provided they have the range of some great library like the Imperial Library at Paris, or that of the British Museum, London. Perhaps, many a palimpsest is to be found in these great store houses of literature, which awaits the patient investigation of a Griesbach or Tischendorf to disclose to the eyes of an astonished and gratified world some such treasure as that of the Sinaitic manuscript. Surely those myriads of copies of the Scriptures and the classic authors, which the monks of the middle ages busied themselves in making for the benefit of posterity, cannot all have perished. Some of the "lost books" are still to be found somewhere!

One of the ablest of the works on the subject of Early Christian Literature which have appeared in our time is that of M. Ozanam, whose early death cut short the promise of the high rank to which he would doubtless have attained as a historian and a philosopher. He was born at Milan in 1813, and died in France in 1853, in the forty-first year of his age. Bred to the law, he preferred inculcating the science of jurisprudence, to the active practice of his profession. In politics he was a decided Liberal; in religion a fervent Catholic. His more important works were developed in lectures delivered at the Sorbonne, Paris, and his scheme was to embrace the history of civilization from the fall of the Roman Empire to the time of Dante. But he lived to complete only his review of the progress of the civilized world as far as the fifth century of the Christian era. In his *History of Civilization in the Fifth Century*, he analyzes in the most masterly manner the reciprocal influence of Christianity and Paganism upon each other, and points out the gradual process by which the salient points of the latter were absorbed into the former, until at last such vitality as there was or ever

had been in the ancient systems of religion was transferred to Christianity, and so Paganism died of inanition. Still the process was but slow, and had not been carried out even at so late a period as the sixth century. The literature of the time was mainly Pagan. Claudian, the poet, *par excellence*, of the fifth century, was firmly attached to the old cult; and his cotemporary, Rutilius Numentianus, openly abused Christian institutions. The Christian literature of the first centuries was strongly tinged with Pagan ideas, and with the reminiscences and influence of the glorious old literature of Greece and Rome: and, indeed, this may be said with still greater truth of the literature of the revival in the fourteenth, fifteenth and sixteenth centuries: nay, at this day, many of the most effective illustrations employed by our classical writers are borrowed from the ancient Heathen.

The charms of the old poetry caused many relapses to Paganism, and it was with the greatest difficulty that Christianity ultimately succeeded in making the literature of Europe her own. Even Jerome and Augustine, the two greatest pillars of the church, clung tenaciously to their early lore. Jerome made his monks copy "the Dialogues of Cicero," and carried a copy of Plato with him on a journey to Jerusalem. He taught grammar at Bethlehem, and expounded Virgil, and the lyric poets, with the ancient comic writers and historians, to those children who had been confided to him for training in Christianity. When he fled to the desert he carried his library with him, read Cicero while he fasted, and devoured Plautus while he bewailed his sins. Magnus, a rhetorician of Rome, reproached him for having filled his work with Pagan memories, and for being unable to write a letter without alluding to Cicero, Horace, and Virgil: to whom Jerome replied that he (Magnus) would never have applied such a reproach to him had he known the sacredness of antiquity: for St. Paul, pleading the cause of Christ before the Arco-pagus, had not scrupled to use the inscription on a Pagan altar in defence of the faith, and to invoke the poet Aratus as a witness. Moreover, the austerity of his doctrine did not hinder the Apostle from citing Epimedes in his Epistle to Titus, (I. 12) and a verse from Menander in another place.

And Augustine in his retreat at Cassiciacum passed many months with his friends Trygetius and Licentius, devoting the mornings to the discussions of grave questions of philosophy, commenting on Cicero, and reading every day the half of one of Virgil's cantos. So the two great Christian poets of modern times, Dante and Milton, can scarcely write a stanza without some allusion to classic lore, some illustration borrowed from Paganism.

Perhaps one of the prime agents in Christianizing the literature of the middle ages was the composition of hymns in the Latin language, introducing therein the new feature of rhyme as an ornament to the verse. Under the influence of these compositions, which had become a necessity in the Christian Church, the old Roman tongue, which was in process of decline, put itself forth anew, budding and blossoming afresh, the meaning of words enlarging and dialating, old words coming to be used in new and higher significations, obsolete words reviving, new words being coined. The translation of the Old and the New Testaments into Latin by Jerome had a marked influence in this revival of the languages. Some of the early converts uttered their feelings in Latin poetry; several of these compositions were attributed to Tertullian and Cyprian. Commodianus wrote a poem against Paganism, and Prosper of Aquitaine wrote one against the Semi-Pelagians; Dracontius, Hilary, and Marius Victor turned their attention to the Bible narratives, while Juvencus and Sedulius confined theirs to evangelical history, and labored to reproduce with poetical adornment the text of the gospel.

Following their example the Anglo-Saxon priest Cædmon sang of the origin of the world, and the fall of man; and the monk Ottfried, in the time of Charlemagne, wrote a poem on the Harmony of the Gospels. Christian hymnody began in the days of the Apostles; both St. Paul and St. James exhort to the practice of singing hymns. In the time of Ambrose, Bishop of Milan, in the fifth century, music was definitely adopted in the church in Italy, and he is the reputed author of several chants and sacred songs. He used iambic verse of eight syllables, and thus paved the way for rhyme, which was early introduced into Christian versification.

Some of the earliest specimens of this occur in St. Augustine's psalm against the Donatists, and in the hymn addressed by Pope Damascus to St. Agatha. The great Christian poets of the age of Augustine were Paulinus and Prudentius. The former of these two repudiated the influence of the Pagan muses, and dropped Venus, Juno, and the other deities, substituting in their place the illustrious personages of Scripture. The latter boldly attacked the idolatrous practices and corrupt manners of the time, and became preëminently the poet of the Christians. Venantius Fortunatus, who flourished in the sixth century, was another of those Christian poets who laid the foundation of the noble Latin hymns of the middle ages, the productions of Adam of St. Victor Pistor, Peter the Venerable, Alanus, Hildebert, Manburn, St. Bernard, Bonaventura, Bede, Alard, Abelard, Bable, Thomas-à-Kempis, Bernard of Clugny, and others. Mr. French has given an admirable selection of these in his *Sacred Latin Poetry*: some of them almost equal in beauty and sublimity to the well known *Dies Iru* and *Statut Mater*. In short the range of the early literature of the Christian Church is vast and varied, full of instruction and of the noblest sentiments of piety and humanity.

ART. III.—1. *The Works of Robert Burns, with an Account of his Life and a Criticism on his Writings.* London.

2. *The Life of Robert Burns.* By J. G. LOCKHART, Edinburgh.

THE most striking characteristic of genius is what seems its daring; it is ever marking out new paths and discovering countries whose existence was previously unthought of, or denied. It is continually undertaking Argonautic expeditions in search of the golden fleece of perfection, and though its ultimate object be not attained, it constantly gives new impulses to the spirit of enterprise in exploring unknown regions of truth. If the possessor of genius should ask,

"Do we move ourselves, or are we moved by an unseen hand at a game?" the answer would doubtless be a repetition of the latter clause of the proposition. Genius is itself an impelling power which possesses the individual as Apollo inspired the Sibyl:

"Struggling in vain, impatient of her load,
And laboring underneath the ponderous god,
The more she strove to shake him from her breast,
With more and far superior force he press'd ;
Commands his entrance, and without control,
Usurps her organs, and inspires her soul."

The person designated to be the mouth-piece of the oracle may, like the prophet Jonah, flee to Tarshish to avoid doing his work, yet everywhere his destiny pursues him, and sooner or later he is forced, cheerfully or reluctantly, to speak the word, or to do the deed assigned to him for his task in this life.

In the majority of cases, the possessor of genius is long ignorant of the work he has to do. He feels an impulsion to do something, and his restless soul struggles in vain for peace. With the poet this restlessness seeks utterance in words, and he finds that expression soothes him. Yet at the first this utterance is feeble and unsatisfactory, and his spirit drives him on to attain greater excellence. Absolute or even satisfactory expression is unattainable, hence his life is a continual struggle. If he gives himself up to the control of this power, as much happiness as is vouchsafed to mortals is within his reach. But, too often, finding the chain galling and the lash torturing that urges him on for his own and others' good, the slave of genius, not perceiving the glorious end, gives himself up to darker passions, whose mastery seems at first more pleasurable, but which conduct his steps to the gulf of despair.

In the streets of Edinburgh, a boy—afterwards a distinguished man—wearied with wandering and sight-seeing in the strange city, has paused to rest. A man passes, something in whose appearance strikes him. He gazes after him almost unconsciously, fascinated with the magnetism of genius, communicated by the outer semblance and bearing

of the passer-by. The veil of mystery is suddenly lifted, and the shadowy wonderland into which his rapt soul is gazing is peopled with well-known forms by the voice of a man near him who, observing his occupation, exclaims, "Eh, laddie! you may well look at that man; that's Bob Burns!"

Admiringly, lovingly, compassionately, let us, with the awe-struck boy, look at this man, for it is well worth our while. Let us follow, and learn more of him. Next we find him, we will say, in a fashionable drawing-room, the resort of persons most distinguished in literature, in the learned professions, and for the station which wealth and hereditary gentility confer at this time and place. Burns has but lately entered this circle to which his recently-discovered talents have been his only card of admission. Lacking the prestige of rank, fortune, or conventional education, being only an "Ayrshire ploughman," his reception is an anomaly. The admiration which his writings have excited is intensified by his manly independence, tempered with modesty, and his wonderful conversational powers. We find him "the observed of all observers" in that brilliant and proud circle—say in the *salon* of the beautiful, witty, and accomplished Duchess of Gordon. High-born and lovely ladies press around him to enjoy the scintillations of his wit, humor, and pathos, flashes of the most vivid imagination—those conversational excellencies which his hostess declares "carried her completely off her feet." All who listen are charmed, astonished by the brilliancy of his genius, and regard him as a prodigy. We might follow him on one of his stealthy visits to the home of "Clarinda" and behold him in his best, tenderest, most soul-awakening mood; but that privacy is too sacred for our intrusion. The attentions which he everywhere receives, Dugald Stewart says, "were such as would have turned any head but his own."

This man, Robert Burns, is a newly-discovered poet, and discovered amid surroundings where one would have least thought of searching for such a jewel. He has jumped at once to an enviable position as a man of acknowledged genius and attained a fame that will never die. And this elevation he has reached, it would seem, by a single bound from

poverty and obscurity. What is most remarkable is, that now, after more than a hundred years have passed, the civilized world approves the opinion of his contemporaries, and adds to it growing love and admiration. Many have acquired sudden fame, but few have so well retained it. In this case there is no doubt that success was the reward of genuine merit.

The poetry of Burns was something quite new in its style and subjects. There were no efforts at highly-wrought excellence, an elaborate finish or a strained sentimentality. It was the natural out-gushing of a truly poetic soul, and was expressed with a fascinating simplicity and naturalness. Even the language was "chiefly Scottish," which gave to his *naïve* effusions an increased charm. Ramsay and Fergusson had already, to some extent, popularised this dialect as a medium of homely verse, but with neither did it seem so natural as with Burns. His heart was in his rhymes, for they were the expressions of his feelings told in a truly natural manner :

" He gave the people of his best."

and they rewarded him with fame. There was no need to quote to him the familiar precept, *Si vis me flere*, for nature in him had at least not been warped by education. So perfect was his candor that he had not even concealed his vices. "If any ambitious man have a fancy" says Poe, "to revolutionize, at one effort, the universal world of human thought, human opinion, and human sentiment, the opportunity is his own—the road to immortal renown lies straight open and unencumbered before him. All that he has to do is to write and publish a very little book. Its title should be simple—a few plain words—'My Heart laid bare.' But this little book must be *true to its title*."

Excepting the title we believe this is just about what Robert Burns did in publishing his first volume of poems. Perhaps the results have not been quite so great as Poe imagined would follow such a publication, but we believe they have been nearly so. Certainly the effects upon the world of both his writings and his history have been very great.

By what roads, and educated by what experiences, did this extraordinary man reach his height of conscious power, and gain the excess of adulation which we have seen him enjoying? Many examples combine to prove the truth of Shelley's lines :

" Most wretched men
Are cradled into poesy by wrong,
And learn in suffering what they teach in song."

Burns believed, and his life exemplified his declaration—

" That man was made to mourn."

He says in one of his letters : " There is not among all the martyrologies that ever were penned, so rueful a narrative as lives of poets. In the comparative view of wretches, the criterion is not what they are doomed to suffer, but how they are formed to bear." And of himself he declares : " My constitution and frame were *ab origine* blasted with a deep incurable taint of hypochondria which poisons my existence."

It was sorrow that made Burns a poet. A susceptibility to the highest joy and the keenest grief is necessary to the poetical temperament. The poet's soul is a camera so constructed as to retain the highest impressions, and to be capable of representing high lights and deep shadows.

" Dearly bought the hidden treasure,
Finer feelings can bestow ;
Chords that vibrate sweetest pleasure
Thrill the deepest notes of woe."

Yet there must not only be the capacity for suffering ; the man must suffer before he can be a poet. Should one so organized be defended from the ills of life by external circumstances, the true poetical power could never be developed. The soul attains elevation in proportion to the difficulties it meets and overcomes. Trouble is itself altitude, and as it is offered and surmounted the soul climbs higher and higher and through mists and darkness, among lightnings and thunderings and tempests, until at last the region of clouds is passed and it emerges into the clear and glorious sunlight. Such is the pathway of the poet, and it is to some extent

" The sacred way the prince of glory passed."

Should the climber falter before he reaches the goal, he can never accomplish his destiny. He is like the seeker after "the speaking bird, the singing tree and the yellow water" of whom we read in the *Arabian Nights*. He sees fearful shapes, and hears all sorts of terrible voices endeavoring to frighten him back. Should he lose heart and turn, he becomes, like the thousands of others who have attempted the same high emprise, an immovable stone, yet still endowed with power to feel regret. If he resolutely advances like the prince who penetrated to the place of the Sleeping Beauty he learns how glorious it is to be the exception where

"The many fail, the one succeeds."

Burns was born to poetry and toil, and privation. From his earliest years he was familiar with sorrow, and all his life was pursued by

"The cruel, woe-delighted train,
The ministers of grief and pain."

Much as he shows us of his inner life in his writings, we could not, from their perusal alone, learn properly to appreciate his sufferings. He makes little attempt at sentimental pathos, and his occasional sorrowful exclamations are wrung from his bleeding heart. Poetry was to him a recreation and delight. He sought the fountain of song for relief from the ills of life, and these inspiring waters filled him with delight which he communicates to his readers. He had no desire to make others sad because he was so, but preferred to contribute to the enjoyment of his fellows, however much himself was suffering. Thus, we can only estimate what he endured from the story of his life and from those letters wherein he unbosoms himself to sympathizing friends.

His brother Gilbert has told us of their early years and the privations they endured: "The anguish of mind we felt at our tender years under these straits and difficulties, was very great. I doubt not but the hard labor and sorrow of this period of his life was in a great measure the cause of that depression of spirits with which Robert Burns was so often afflicted through his whole life afterwards." And the poet

says of the same period, "This kind of life—the cheerless gloom of a hermit, with the unceasing wail of a galley slave, brought me to my sixteenth year."

His sufferings during those years were, doubtless, inconceivable to many not similarly circumstanced. His father, a very worthy man, to whom the poet pays many tender tributes, was peculiarly unfortunate. His family were in constant affliction, compelled to toil "to the utmost of their strength and rather beyond it," and were besides subjected to the brutal tyranny of those in whose power their misfortunes had placed them. Yet it was in such scenes that the genius of Burns was developed, and he tells us that a little before his sixteenth year he "first committed the sin of rhyme," of which he could afterwards say:

"Loose me on rhyme! it's aye a treasure,
My chief, amidst my only pleasure,
At home, a-field, at work or leisure,
The muse, poor hizzie,
Tho' rough an' rhylock be her measure,
She's seldom lazy."

He had now found a vent for his hopes, his loves, and his sorrows. His soul, developed in rural solitude and enlarged by suffering, began to blossom in song, and henceforth he had at least a partial cure for the ills of life. At the age of twenty-three we find him writing to his father that he was heartily tired of life and would gladly resign it. As he afterwards sings:

"Oh life! thou art a galling load,
Along a rough, a weary road,
To wretches such as I."

There is no affectation in this announcement that he was heartily tired of life. The declaration was many times repeated during the remainder of his career. It is not often that a person at the age of twenty-three, and of Burns' enthusiastic temperament, finds life a burden. Sooner or later, and for a longer or shorter period, every one who thinks much and feels keenly is prepared to say that the joys of life do not balance its sorrows:

“ Count o’er the joys thine hours have seen ;
Count o’er thy days from anguish free ;
And know—whatever thou hast been—
‘Twere something better not to be.”

Burns' extraordinary susceptibility to melancholy influences was perceived in his childhood. This is illustrated by the story told by his brother that Robert, when at the age of nine years, refused to hear read through, the revolting tragedy of *Titus Andronicus*, declaring that if the book were left in the house he would burn it. His heart could feel keenly for the woes of others, and it is no wonder that he was at times almost overwhelmed with the load of grief which it was his lot to bear.

Love has been characterized as “ a sweet sorrow,” and to the tender influences of this passion Burns was peculiarly susceptible. Like everything in this life, human love to those whom it can greatly bless, also brings poignant grief when its course does not “ run smooth.” Burns tells us that love and poetry began together with him, and that they “ at times have been my only, and, till within the last twelve months, my highest enjoyment.” Yet he tells us also that in affairs of the heart he often met with disappointment. The record of his loves which have come down to us are, on the whole, a melancholy one. Death robbed him of his Highland Mary, and his affair with Jean Armour, previous to their marriage, was most unfortunate. He himself says of it: “ This was a most melancholy affair, which I cannot yet bear to reflect on, and had very nearly given me one or two of the principal qualifications for a place among those who have lost the chart, and mistaken the reckoning of rationality.”

Among the causes producing difficulty which helps the soul onward, must be mentioned error which brings repentance. Though paradoxical, there is a foundation of truth for the philosophy which teaches that by man's fall he is enabled to rise. By error we place difficulties in our path ; by repentance and struggles to reform, all our powers are quickened and are exerted with an energy corresponding to the obstacles to be overcome. Our souls are stimulated by

such circumstances, just as our physical system is stimulated to expel an obnoxious substance, like alcohol. The extreme sensibility of the poetical nature continually places its possessor within reach of temptation ;

"The passionate heart of the poet is whirled into folly and vice."

Yet folly and vice are obnoxious to man's better nature, and however, when driven by evil impulses, he may be attracted to pursue them, a time will come, sooner or later, when the soul that is not altogether degraded will regard its vicious courses with abhorrence, and will endeavor to retrace its steps and to regain the narrow path of rectitude. In the struggle which ensues its highest faculties will be brought into vigorous action. If the better impulses prove the stronger in this warfare of opposing passions, the effect will be, as the elemental conflicts of material nature, to clear and purify the atmosphere of the soul. But, whatever may be the final result of the contest, while it is raging the man will display his highest powers, and if he possesses genius, mankind at large, if not the individual, will be benefitted.

Because benefits may thus result from error we are not to conclude that one should in any case intentionally err. The condition upon which alone such conduct may be beneficial is that it shall be involuntary, or at least unpremeditated. If the sin were deliberate it would indicate so low a state of moral feeling that the reactionary effect could not be expected, and consequently the *struggle* between contending passions, from which alone benefit results, would not be induced.

Burns erred grievously ; his errors caused him great suffering, but as the result of the warfare between the powers that contended for the mastery of his spirit we consider the most of what he did and what he was. In this sense we may interpret his declaration,

"And yet the light that led astray
Was light from Heaven."

The light that led him through devious ways of want and sorrow was designed to guide him to higher truth and greater happiness. Such would have been the result had he ever fol-

lowed that light and not gone aside to share *ignes fatui* of false pleasure.

From his own account it would seem that his first entry into scenes of dissipation was in his nineteenth summer, which, he says, he spent "on a smuggling coast, a good distance from home, at a noted school, to learn mensuration, surveying, dialling, &c., in which I made a pretty good progress. But I made greater progress in the knowledge of mankind."

He tells us also that it was the baneful influence of a companion which, at about the age of twenty-three, first led him to court the delusive phantom of illicit passion. There were many circumstances that contributed to make him reckless—his poverty, his ambition, for which there seemed no fulfilment, his susceptibility to the charms of the other sex, and his numerous and crushing disappointments.

We have seen something of the troubles of his early years and of their effect upon him. That he was very ambitious we have cumulative evidence in his acts and in his words. He tells us: "I had felt early some stirrings of ambition, but they were the blind gropings of Homer's Cyclops round the walls of his cave." Situated as he was, with his want of fortune, friends, or education, and in a country and at a time where aristocratic ideas were so prevalent, he early saw what an immense gulf there was between him and the goal of his hopes. No wonder that he despaired of crossing it, and that his disappointments in this particular should have assisted to plunge him into the vortex of folly and vice. He writes to his father: "As for this world, I despair of ever making a figure in it. * * * I foresee that poverty and obscurity probably await me, and I am in some measure prepared and daily preparing to meet them."

It was his despair of ever making a figure in the world, his perception that poverty and obscurity probably awaited him, which induced the declaration that he was heartily tired of life. Such despair doubtless prepared his heart to listen to the whispers of temptation.

Then, everything seemed to go wrong with him. He had attempted to improve his condition by learning the trade of a

flax-dresser, and when he hoped soon by his labors to find himself in better circumstances, the shop with its contents was destroyed by fire, and he was reduced to the most abject poverty. The troubles of his family at this time plunged his affectionate heart into deeper sorrow. His poor father was reduced to the last extremities, and he says, "After three years' tossing and whirling in the vortex of litigation, my father was just saved from the horrors of a jail by a consumption, which, after two years' promises, kindly stepped in and carried him away to where the wicked cease from troubling and the weary are at rest. When my father died his all went among the hell-hounds that growl in the kennels of justice; but we made a shift to collect a little money in the family amongst us, with which to keep us together. My brother and I took a neighboring farm. I entered on this farm with a full resolution, 'Come, go to; I will be wise.' I read farming books, I calculated crops, I attended markets, and, in short, in spite of the devil, and the world, and the flesh, I believe I should have been a wise man; but the first year, from unfortunately buying bad seed, the second from a late harvest, we lost half our crops. This overset all my wisdom."

Burns' resolutions to be wise were not sufficient to sustain him against this accumulation of misfortunes. Who will cast a stone at him? Let no one presume to do so who has not equally suffered and been similarly tempted, and who has come through the fire unscathed. He sought solace for his woes in the pleasures of companionship and in the delights of love; and in both he was driven to excesses which plunged him deeper and deeper into misfortunes, the worst of which was the remorse caused by the consciousness of his follies and his sins. Yet let us not self-righteously condemn him or others who err, but take to heart the truths contained in his own admirable lines:

"Then gently scan your brother man,
Still gentler sister woman;
Tho' they may gang a kennin wrang,
To step aside is human.
One point must still be greatly dark,
The moving *why* they do it;

And just as lamely can ye mark
How far perhaps they rue it.

Who made the heart, 'tis He alone
Decidedly can try us ;
He knows each cord—its various tone,
Each spring—its various bias ;
Then at the balance let's be mute,
We never can adjust it ;
What's done we partly may compute,
But know not what's resisted."

The culmination of his woes was his unfortunate affair with Jean Armour, the result of which had nearly driven him into insanity, and did drive him to resolve upon exile, which was to him worse than the most dreadful death. In these straits, forced to resolve upon leaving his beloved native land forever, too poor even to pay his passage, "skulking" from covert to covert under all the terrors of a jail," his high-strung spirit swept by the most torturing emotions, he sang as his sad farewell to the past, and his "hail horrors" to a future which threatened yet more fearful woes :

"The gloomy night is gathering fast."

Byron, with somewhat similar feelings, wrote :

"Tis done ! and shivering in the gale
My bark unfurls her snowy sail."

Yet Byron's griefs were as nothing compared with those of Burns, nor does he to anything near the same extent excite our sympathies.

Burns did not go to Jamaica, and for how slight a cause ! Had he possessed means with which to pay his passage, it is more than probable that his poems would never have been given to the world—his after life would have been very different, and we should doubtless have lost the benefit of his examples and his writings. It was principally this want of a little money which induced him to publish an edition of his poems. His only hope was in the possibility that his countrymen might recognize his genius. He was conscious of great abilities, and his only doubt was as to the chance that others would appreciate and acknowledge the merits of what he had written. Yet he did not expect that this recognition

would come soon enough to save him from the necessity of leaving his country. He says: "I was pretty confident that my poems would meet with some applause; but at the worst the Atlantic would deafen the voice of censure, and the novelty of West Indian scenes make me forget neglect."

This daring act—that of a poor and unknown young man publishing a volume of poems, which many regard as indicating a degree of insanity—was the culminating point in Burns' career. *He had climbed to a height*, meeting and overcoming—unconsciously often—three elevations and obstructions over which his soul had struggled. The "gloomy night" that gathered so fast about him was the last belt of clouds that separated from the glow of the clear heavens above. The last ascent had been the most difficult; weary and faint he was about to release his hold on hope and fall headlong into the depths of a careless despair; but he put forth one more effort, and his troubles were, for a time, at an end, or unfelt and unseen amid the glories that surrounded him. This last effort was an awakening of faith in his genius, and a resolve to hazard everything in an effort to make that genius known. Here he was true to himself and the higher instincts within him. He had not overestimated his abilities.

The reception which his poems met with and the encouragement he received from those in whom he had confidence, induced Burns to undertake a journey to Edinburgh. This also was a daring venture; but here again he was true to himself in listening to that inner voice which, as Schiller declares "deceives not the hopeful soul." He went, as he says, "without a single acquaintance, or a single letter of introduction." He went on foot, a tedious journey requiring two days, but

"Hope, like the glimmering taper's light,
Adorns and cheers the way."

His reception in Edinburgh exceeded his most sanguine anticipations. He stepped at once into the full blaze of admiration and fame. Yet we are told that his head was not turned by the extraordinary attentions he received. Considering his great and sudden elevation, this fact might seem especially remarkable, and is generally so considered. If by an intelli-

gent study of his life and writings we have learned to know the man, we shall not be surprised at this evidence of his real greatness.

If ever a man knew himself, that man was Robert Burns. He tells us, "to know myself had been all along my constant study." He had not studied in vain. When we consider his acts and his words we discover that few of those who have written of him knew Burns so well as he knew himself. Most of the estimates of his character by biographers and essayists are faulty in not paying sufficient heed to his own words, which give so intelligent a commentary on his acts. He was an enigma to those who saw him at Edinburgh, and he is an enigma still to the majority of mankind. By his contemporaries he was measured by an entirely false standard, and we of a later day are accustomed to look at him with eyes prejudiced from reading the earlier accounts of his life and estimates of his character. He was to the men of that day a strange phenomenon, inexplicable by any rules with which they were acquainted. We do not believe that one not imbued with the spirit of republicanism can properly estimate Burns.

He was poor, and he was comparatively uneducated—at least according to the standard of education set up in high places at that day. But there is the source of the greatest error in the estimates of Burns. His education was doubtless vastly superior in real value to that of the most thorough university student of his day. His teacher had been sorrow, and his text-books labor, want, disappointment and repentance. In this school his soul had attained a height which few, if any, who saw and wondered at him could conceive. Though never before enjoying fame or the attentions of the great, he had learned, by the subduing power of grief, to estimate all worldly joys at their true value. He knew that the highest pleasure of earth are delusive. He judged even the condition of a mouse happy in comparison with his own :

"Still thou art blest, compar'd wi' me !
The present only toucheth thee ;
But och ! I backward cast my e'e
On prospects drear !

An' forward, tho' I canna see,
I guess 'an fear!"

He seems not for a moment to have lost sight of the future and, judging it by the past, he well knew that it offered him little but toil and privation. He estimated at their worth the attentions he received. He seems to have made no calculations based on the patronage of the world's great ones. He knew that he was an object of interest to them, because he contributed to their amusement, and principally by exciting a wonder which, from its nature, must be short-lived. They were interested in him for their own sakes, not for his. He foresaw that so soon as curiosity should be satiated, they would tire of him, and he should be again left to shift for himself.

Each has his own load to bear in this life, and as a rule, no one is charged with looking after the interests of others not connected with him by natural ties. Yet we believe that much of his future misery might have been spared to Burns, could he have found, at this period, a wise friend to assist in directing his course and to help to sustain him in his good resolves. We do not see why Burns could not at this time have been easily placed in a position to realize his wish for "a life of literary leisure with a decent competence," which he says, "is the summit of my wishes." This assistance needed not to come in the shape of charity, nor in any manner obnoxious to Burns' spirit of independence. With his talents he could easily have been placed in a position to earn a competence by the use of his powers. But he needed a start, and some directing. He was comparatively ignorant of the world, notwithstanding his excellent knowledge of human nature, and could not know what means of profitable employment might be found for him in a city like Edinburgh. But surely some place there was that he was fitted to fill; and the thoughtlessness of his admirers in not assisting him in this particular caused him to lose all the permanent benefits that ought to have accrued to him from his excellent position in Edinburgh society.

"Ah! that the friendly e'er should want a friend!"

Note particularly these words: "The novelty of a poet in my obscure situation, without any of those advantages which are reckoned necessary for that character, *at least at this time of day.*" Did he see clearly into a future—not recognized at this day unless by a very few—where the true education of a poet should be perceived? It seems he did. He knew well that his training had been the best possible for a true poet, but he also saw that the world was not yet prepared to understand the fact. He knew that the schooling of sorrow through which he had past, the development of the affections in their intensity, and his habits of earnest thought had strung his poetical nature to its highest power; he knew, too, that the careful study of a few of the best models within his reach, with his practice in composition, had given him a facility and an excellence of expression which few, if any of his contemporaries, with all their advantages of classical culture, could hope to attain. He saw clearly that the road over which he had passed was the true one to poetical excellence. He knew that the soul of the poet must be educated by suffering before it can move the hearts of others. He knew, too, that all hopes of earthly happiness are futile.

Burns now prepared to leave Edinburgh, called by duties which he was the last man to ignore. He then set out on a tour through various parts of Scotland, receiving everywhere attentions which must have been very grateful to him, yet receiving them with a subdued spirit, too well-trained by sorrow to be over-elated. This was probably the happiest period of his life. He dearly loved the scenes of nature, and was only at home among them. However much he might be pleased with the novelty of his life at Edinburgh, and flattered by the attentions he received, he still longed for the sweet and calm delights of rural scenery and associations. He visited his mother and remained at home two weeks, and then set out on a tour through the Highlands. He again visited Edinburgh for the purpose of settling with his bookseller. He found himself in possession of what was, to him, a very handsome sum, and with its assistance he purposed again to commence the serious work of life. He provided generously for his mother,

and lent to his brother a considerable proportion of the sum he had received for his poems. Farther than this, he did what he could in the way of restitution to Jean Armour, by marrying her, and thus lifting her to the social height which he then occupied. Her father had persuaded her to destroy the evidence of marriage which Burns had given to shield her from disgrace, and had cruelly separated the pair, but he was captivated by the apparent prosperity of the famous poet, who says: "On my *éclatant* return to Mauchline, I was made very welcome to visit my girl." While at Edinburgh he had written to Gavin Hamilton: "To tell the truth among friends, I feel a miserable blank in my heart from the want of her." He did not marry her altogether from a sense of justice, yet this feeling was perhaps uppermost in his mind at the time. He writes to Mrs. Dunlop: "I found a once much-loved, and still much-loved female, literally and truly cast out to the mercy of the naked elements; but I enabled her to purchase a shelter; there is no sporting with a fellow-creatures happiness or misery." In his common-place book he writes: "Humanity, generosity, honest pride of character, justice to my own happiness for after life, so far as it could depend (which it surely will a great deal) on internal peace, all these joined their warmest suffrages, their most powerful solicitations, with a rooted attachment, to urge the step I have taken."

Poor Jean Armour Burns! loving too well to be worldly wise; inexperienced, her will carried captive by the passionate affection of the fascinating genius; her soul absorbed by his greater one; made to share his great sorrows and to partake of his fate; with her own griefs as a gentle, tender woman, and the wife of a poor indiscreet poet; suffering shame, remorse, the keenest grief for the affliction of her parents on her account; not permitted to retain the instrument which to some extent covered her shame from the eyes of the world; turned out of doors by a cruel father; then at last married to the man she loved, but to suffer with him all the woes of poverty, increased by his irregularities; her last child born on the day her husband was laid in the grave!

Could Burns have formed a better matrimonial connec-

tion? He himself says that he could not, and here, again, we think he shows the wonderful clearness of his perceptions. He was greatly admired by some of the most brilliant and lovely women of the day: the admiration, in one or two instances at least, very nearly approaching to a passionate love. Yet he well knew that for a life-companionship there would be an incompatibility between himself and these more favored dames. It was all very well to have a romantic attachment for such a woman as "Clarinda" and others whom he admired, and to make them the inspiration for his songs, but he knew better than they could do how such a woman was

"All unmeet for a wife"

for one circumstanced as he was, and with his future unveiling to his keen perception its ghostly horrors. He was well fitted to appreciate a companionship with the most refined of the gentler sex. But for the tie of duty that bound him to Jean Armour, and the consciousness that his spirit would give him no peace if he failed to do her justice, he might have contracted a different alliance. Yet we doubt if he would have been happier. His Jean seems to have been excellently adapted to him, and to have been, altogether, an estimable woman.

From his own showing, Burns had reason to be satisfied with his companion, and no doubt he was sufficiently so.

Burns again became a farmer, and his countrymen showed their appreciation of his genius by giving him a place in the excise worth thirty pounds a year! But the phantoms of sorrow still pursued him, for he writes in his journal at Ellisland: "I am such a coward in life, sotired of the service, that I would almost at any time, with Milton's Adam, 'gladly lay me in my mother's lap and be at peace.' But a wife and children bind me to struggle with the stream, till some sudden squall shall overset the silly vessel, or in the listless return of years its own craziness reduce it to a wreck."

Burns, from his highly social nature, was fitted to enjoy, to their full extent, the pleasures which riches could have given him. He had been introduced at Edinburgh to the

kind of life that would have suited him. Yet he saw that such a career was not for him, and he had returned to struggle with poverty, and to make the best of such society as he was permitted to have. Yet to fully appreciate the pleasures of such a life as a certain amount of money would have given him, and to contrast it with what his fate required him to endure, must have been bitterly disappointing. The patronizing airs of those more favored by fortune galled his proud spirit; he could have no companionship with such, and was compelled to put up with such comrades as he could find among those whose circumstances more nearly coincided with his own. Very few of them could properly appreciate his mind or his sensitive spirit. He was continually tortured by the coarseness and want of sympathy with his higher nature of those with whom he was thus compelled to associate. To deaden his sensibilities and reduce himself more nearly to the level of his comrades, so as to make their companionship tolerable, he was induced to resort to the intoxicating bowl. Then his sensitive physical constitution seemed to him to require stimulants. He says to a friend: "I am groaning under the miseries of a diseased nervous system; a system the state of which is most conducive to our happiness—or the most productive of our misery."

Perhaps he did not realize that the stimulants to which he resorted only give temporary relief, to plunge us afterwards the more deeply into misery; but very possibly he may have seen this clearly, and taken a course which he well knew would hasten his steps to the grave where alone he hoped to find relief from the ills of life.

Here it was Burns failed. Great as he had shown himself at Edinburgh, his wisdom was not sufficient to carry him safely over this trying period. Had it been so, there is no doubt that he would have experienced a second triumph greater and far more enduring than the other. But he gave way, and missed, at least for this life, the crown which is given to those who conquer temptation. Yet his bark went down in such a tempest as few could hope to weather. He was very poor—as he says "every guinea has a five-guinea errand;" he was tortured with the most fearful anxieties for

his beloved family, and he had no prospects for a better future. His farming speculation proved ruinous; he missed his hopes of promotion in the excise, and had nearly lost his place by too freely expressing his sympathies with aspiring humanity. His letter upon this subject to Mr. Graham is a noble composition—superior even to Dr. Johnson's celebrated epistle to Chesterfield.

Sorrows thickening about the poet, yet his lyre still gave forth the sweetest strains. After a night of dissipation he writes to a friend: "There is none to pity me. My wife scolds me; my business torments me, and my sins come staring me in the face, every one telling a more bitter tale than his fellow." He suffered as he says in his "Letter from Hell," "Regret! Remorse! Shame!" He also suffered from neglect, and almost from scorn, as witness the scene at Dumfries, recorded by Lockhart, where he would not presume to cross the street to join the gay throng on the opposite side.

Towards the close of his life he writes: "I have lately drunk deep of the cup of affliction. The autumn robbed me of my only daughter, my darling child, and that at a distance too, and so rapidly as to put it out of my power to pay the last duties to her. I had scarcely begun to recover from that shock, when I became myself the victim of a most severe rheumatic fever, and long the die spun doubtful." And again, near the close: "Rackt as I am with rheumatism, I meet every face with a greeting like that of Balak to Balaam—'Come, curse me Jacob, and come defy me Israel!' So say I—come, curse me that east wind, and come defy me the north!"

To Mrs. Dunlop, he writes: "An illness which has long hung about me, in all probability will speedily send me beyond that bourne whence no traveller returns. Your friendship, with which you for so many years honored me, was friendship dearest to my soul. Your conversation, and especially your correspondence, were at once highly pleasing and instructive. With what pleasure did I use to break up the seal! The remembrance yet adds one pulse more to my poor palpitating heart. Farewell!!!" And to another

friend, "Alas, Clarke! I begin to fear the worst. As to my individual self, I am tranquil, and would despise myself if I were not; but Burns' poor widow, and half-a-dozen of his dear little ones, helpless orphans!—There I am weak as a woman's tear. Enough of this—'tis half of my disease!" And to his father-in-law, on his death-bed: "Do for heaven's sake send Mrs. Armour here immediately. My wife is hourly expected to be put to bed. My God! What a situation for her to be in, poor girl, without a friend! I returned from sea-bathing quarters to-day, and my medical friends would almost persuade me that I am better, but I think and feel that my strength is so gone that the disorder will prove fatal to me."

"O death! the poor man's dearest friend,
The kindest and the best!"

In this cruel manner didst thou perform for him who thus lovingly invoked thee, thy friendly office! Burns died at the age of thirty-eight years, of a most excruciating disease, in almost abject poverty, in neglect, and tortured with anxiety for those he loved. Is there "among all the martyrologies that ever were penned so rueful a narrative" as the life of this poet? Possibly, for Burns is not the only true poet who has lived, or from whose suffering soul have been evoked strains that have delighted mankind. What consolation had Burns in his extremity? Did he perceive the undying fame that was to hallow his name for all time, and the deep sympathy which all true souls were to feel for his sufferings? There is no doubt that he did to a great extent.

Burns' claims as a poet have been thoroughly canvassed by the ablest minds, and it was no part of the design of the present article to enter into an elaborate criticism of his writings. We may say that as a poet he is thoroughly good *within his proper limits*, so far as he is natural, which he generally is. Nothing fictitious is true poetry, however much that declaration may contradict prevalent opinions. All genuine poetry comes from the heart, and is the record of the writer's own experience, however it may be cast into the mould of fiction as regards external forms. The incidents may be unreal, yet they are such as to excite and to express

the author's genuine feelings, and are, so far as the sentiments are concerned, taken from the volume of his own life. Thus the spirit which animates the whole is that of truth, and the ability to record this reality in a pleasing manner indicates the poet. Burns was not an elaborate artist. We may, perhaps, justly reëcho his own lines expressing his estimate of his abilities at one period—

“There's iither poets much your betters
Far seen in Greek, deep men o' letters,
Hae thought they had ensured their debtors
A' future ages;
Now moths deform in shapeless tatters
Their unknown pages.”

It is the glory of the man that he correctly estimated his own abilities and, though often urged to do so, would not undertake elaborate works for which he knew he was not fitted. Here, too, is the secret of his success; he did not attempt what he could not do, but was content to do his humbler work well. This is the especial charm of the greater portion of his writings: we see in them the man in his own proper sphere—the ploughman in the field, by the fire-side, among boon companions, engaged in a rustic amour, contemplating a mouse or a daisy, loving, sinning, suffering, and giving vent to his feelings in his own homely and artless language. If the untaught countryman is invited to visit with the great and the refined, he does not attempt to ape their manners, or to rival their elegance. He never aspires to be a fine gentleman, or to be anything but what he is. As a man Burns was great. His sphere was not a high one, but he greatly did what was given him to do—except where he gave way to temptation—and was content to be what he was. His motto was,

“Act well your part; there all the honor lies.”

For acting his part so well as he did, notwithstanding all the discouragements he met, he deserves our warmest praise and gratitude. The success which he achieved by being thus true to himself is a most valuable example to mankind.

Had Burns, in his great sorrows, the consolation of a hopeful religion? He was by no means destitute of true religious

sentiments. He detested the narrow orthodoxy of the religionists with whom he was most acquainted, but he replaced their superstitious tenets with a more ennobling charity. He could not believe in a deity who was characterized as the fountain of mercy, and who yet predestines his creatures to eternal torment. He was confident that, notwithstanding his errors, he could with trust repose upon

"The bosom of his Father and his God."

These lines express that hopeful trust and confidence—

*"Where with intention I have erred
No other plea I have
But thou art good ; and goodness still
Delighteth to forgive."*

His religion was not of a highly spiritual character. As he loved his fellows and could not harbor a malignant thought, he believed that much more the pure and all powerful Deity must look with compassion rather than anger upon the frailties of weak and suffering mortals. He esteemed the God of his worship as he would estimate a good man.

*"The heart benevolent and kind
The most resembles God."*

Hating hypocrisy and superstition, he yet revered the religious observances with which he was familiar, and ever speaks of genuine piety with veneration. His conduct in several situations in life—especially in relation to his marriage—could only have been dictated by conscientious considerations having their origin in religious convictions.

Were there such compensations in the life of Burns that he received a measure of happiness equal to the average of mankind ? This question opens a field of inquiry and speculation into which few dare to venture, and fewer still, perhaps, who have answered such questions for themselves would care to give their thoughts to the world. We can only say that we believe the soul to be immortal ; that God is just ; that this life is but a day in the cycle of eternity, and that death is but an act-drop for the drama of existence which shall continue forever.

ART. IV.—1. *Herschel's Treatise on Sound.* Encyclopædia Metropolitana.

2. *Bartlett's Acoustics.* New York.

THE sense of hearing, though of less importance than that of sight, ranks high as a means of acquiring knowledge and avoiding danger. It is by habit that we obtain the power of distinguishing places and things by sound, a capability that belongs no less to the brute than to man. Indeed, some animals seem to rely wholly on their sense of hearing to distinguish the presence of objects. Dr. J. K. Mitchell found the bat to fly as well, and to avoid danger as readily, with its eyes put out, as when it had the use of them; but after having its sense of hearing destroyed it could no longer tell whither it was flying so as to avoid an object or to strike it.

This power, then, which men and animals possess of distinguishing objects by the sound which they make, is no mean acquisition to beings of locomotion that, in consequence of this ability to move, have many more chances of destruction or injury than such as are confined to one spot. It is a matter of observation that the acuteness of our senses is directly proportional to our wants under certain circumstances, either for the purpose of avoiding danger or acquiring knowledge.

This power of cultivation is not limited to man; the brute possesses it also. Some animals possess by nature senses extraordinarily acute, either on the one hand, for avoiding their enemies, or for pursuing their prey. It is altogether inconceivable to us how the dog can follow his master's track from the scent which he leaves through the sole of his boot. We believe, however, that cultivation will make man's senses nearly as acute as those of any animal. We are acquainted with a little girl who depends on her sense of smell to distinguish the quality of anything. It is said that "Mr. James Gardner, the geographer, can rule blindfolded or in the dark, with the natural angle of a diamond on

hard white metal, fifty-one lines in the fiftieth part of an inch, and cross them at the same distances with an additional line each way to complete the number of squares.* The sight, though generally the most useful, is comparatively limited. The unaided eye could not distinguish the squares which Mr. Gardner was able to make (6,502,500) by the sense of feeling, in a space of an inch square. In the case of the approach of death in the ordinary course of nature, the sense of hearing remains acute long after the eye fails to perceive things.

For the production of sound three things are necessary: a sounding body, an organ of hearing, and a medium by which the sound may be transmitted from the one to the other. The atmosphere is the ordinary but not the only conductor of sound. The various gases, liquids and solids, all conduct sound with greater or less facility. It was discovered by Hawksbee that in a vacuum no perceptible sound could be produced. When a bell is suitably arranged for sounding, under the receiver of an air-pump, it is found that the sound becomes less and less audible as the exhaustion goes on, until at length it ceases altogether to be heard.

It is related by M. Saussure and others, that the firing of a pistol on the summit of Mont Blanc made no louder report than the noise of an ordinary Chinese cracker at the base. This diminution of sound at great heights has usually been attributed to the smaller density of the air. It is a known fact that air under greater pressure conveys sound with increased intensity, so that a whisper in a diving-bell, when sunk to a considerable depth, becomes painfully loud.

The above statement of Saussure, however, does not seem to be confirmed. M. Martins made various experiments with a view of determining the intensity of sound in rarified air. He proved that it depends on the density of the air at the place of the primitive disturbances, and not on that of the strata traversed by it, nor on that of the air surrounding the hearer. This was proved in the course of experiments made with two mortars of the

* Mudie's Popular Guide to the Study of Nature, pp. 16, 17.

same found, upon the velocity of sound ascending and descending. One mortar was placed upon the summit of a mountain, and the other below. At an altitude of 2,682 metres it was found that, with the same charge, the sound was much weaker than that produced 1,117 metres lower. On the top of Mont Blanc, in the same situation in which Saussure made the observation before quoted, and where, he said, he could scarcely hear the popping of a bottle of champagne, M. Martins found that he could distinguish the voices of the guides in conversation at the distance of 400 metres, or nearly a quarter of a mile, and the tapping of a pencil upon a metallic surface at the distance of fifteen to twenty paces.

In order to arrive at something more positive in regard to this matter, M. Martins constructed a diapason so arranged as to give 512 vibrations of sound in a second, thus giving a constant and continuous sound. With a sound having always the same intensity in air of equal density, it is evident that the variable distance at which it ceases to be perceptible in mediums of different densities, will afford a proper measure of the variations of this intensity. Owing to the agitations of the atmosphere, however, these experiments become complicated. In 1814 it was ascertained by M. Holdat and De la Roche, that wind, blowing from the origin of a sound, increased the limit of distance to which it may be heard, and wind blowing in the opposite direction diminished it. Both agree that it can be heard, other things being equal, at the greatest possible distance in air at rest, the noise from the wind, under any circumstances, interfering with the perception of sound. This accords with common experience.

Experiments made with the diapason on a desert plain, in a calm day, gave 254 metres as the limit of sound. The same experiment repeated at 11 o'clock at night under nearly the same circumstances, gave 379 metres as the limit of sound. At 8600 feet above the level of the sea similar experiments gave 550 metres as the limit of sound; and at the height of 2,800 feet the limit was 337 metres. We thus see that sound was heard at an elevation of little more than a

mile and a half at double the distance of that at the ordinary surface level, and that the universal stillness observed at great heights seems rather to be owing to the absence of sound-producing causes than to the impossibility of its being heard. These experiments, however, do not really contradict the observations of travellers who have been struck with the weakening of sound at great altitudes. "In fact these travellers having ascended suddenly from the plain upon the mountain, their organs, and particularly those of hearing, have not had time to put themselves in equilibrium with the ambient air."

M. Martins did not make his experiments till after several days' sojourn at the elevations cited, and when his organs of hearing had adapted themselves to the rarer medium. The inhabitants of very elevated region of country, especially in tropical America, do not suffer from the effects of a rarified medium, owing to the power of adaptation of the human system, which enables man to live without inconvenience under conditions that could scarcely be endured if he were suddenly introduced into them. "There are causes, however," observes M. Martins, "which favor the hearing of sound on high mountains, that more than compensate the rarefaction of the air." Among these causes silence holds the first rank. On the grand plateau of Mont Blanc "there is a repose only broken by the noise of wind or thunder. In calm weather the silence is so profound that sounds are heard at a great distance, although their intensity is much less than in the low country." Other causes exist, such as the nature and configuration of the soil, the hygrometric state of the air, and the absence or presence of "aërial currents."*

The fact that sounds can be heard farther at night than in the daytime early attracted attention. Humboldt's attention was called to it by noticing that the noise made by the rush of the cataracts or the Orinoco, in the plain surrounding the Missions of Atures, is three times as loud by night as by day.† This is partly owing to the cessation of the noises

* Annual of Ser. Discovery for 1852, pp. 151-2.

† Travels in Equin. Regions, p. 211.

of the day, and partly to the condition of the atmosphere, which is more homogeneous in the night when the action of the sun's rays ceases to influence its density. In the daytime, on the contrary, the density is continually changing from variations of temperature. "It is obvious," says Sir John Herschel, "that sound as well as light must be obstructed, stifled, and dissipated from its original direction by the mixture of air of different temperatures, and consequently elasticities; and thus the same cause which produces that extreme transparency of the air at night, which astronomers alone fully appreciate, renders it also more favorable to sound. There is no doubt, however, that the universal and dead silence, generally prevalent at night, renders our auditory nerves sensible to impressions which would otherwise escape notice. The analogy between sound and light is perfect in this as in many other respects. In the general light of day the stars disappear. In the continual hum of voices, which is always going on by day, and which reaches us from all quarters and never leaves the ear time to attain complete tranquility, those feeble sounds which catch our attention at night make no impression. The ear, like the eye, requires long and perfect repose to attain its utmost sensibility."^{*}

Sound can be heard at a greater distance across a level plain than over an uneven surface, and is transmitted with great facility over the surface of water or ice. Lieutenant Foster was able to carry on a conversation across Fort Bowen harbor, when frozen, a distance of a mile and a half.† Captain Parry tells us that in the polar regions a conversation can be carried on between two persons a mile apart. When the air is calm and dry the report of a musket is audible at 8000 paces; the marching of a company on a still night may be heard at from 580 to 830 paces off; a squadron of cavalry at foot pace 750 paces; trotting or galloping at 1080 paces; heavy artillery at foot pace 660 paces; and if at a trot or gallop, at 1000 paces distant. A powerful human voice can be heard in the open air, under ordinary

* Treatise on Sound, Ency. Metrop.

† Somerville's Phys. Science, p. 130.

circumstances, at the distance of 230 paces.* We have heard, however, a human voice at a much greater distance than this, at least a quarter of a mile.

The greatest known distance to which sound has been carried through the air is 345 miles, when the explosions of the volcano at St. Vincent's were heard at Demarara. Sound is conveyed through the earth, however, to a much greater distance. It is said that the cannonading of the citadel of Antwerp, in 1832, was heard in the mines of Saxony, a distance of 370 miles; and explosions of the volcano in the island of Sumbawa, one of the Molucca groups, during the eruption in 1815, was heard in Sumatra, 970 geographical miles distant in one direction, and at Jarnate in the opposite direction, 720 miles distant.† Musical sounds of the same loudness can be heard at a greater distance than others. The mother who calls her child begins an octave lower than she ends, and she thus makes him hear when perhaps he otherwise would not. It is well known that music across water can be heard at a great distance.

The velocity of sound through the atmosphere, or any other medium, can be measured or calculated. Sir Isaac Newton found by calculation that the velocity of sound in the air is 979 feet in a second; and after allowing for some peculiar atmospheric constitution which he supposed to exist, he made it 1142 feet.‡ This last is the velocity found by Dorcham from his celebrated experiments made in London in 1708.§

For several years there was a large unexplained difference between the calculated velocity of sound and that actually observed. The most accurate computations gave very nearly 916 feet for the distance which sound travels in a second at the temperature of a freezing point. The most accurate experiments give about 1090 for the velocity of sound in the atmosphere at the same temperature. The difference, which is 174 feet, was at length explained by Laplace by referring it to the heat developed in the atmosphere by the transmis-

*Bartlett's Acoustics, p. 67.

†Hitchcock's Geology, p. 237.

‡Principia, p. 369.

§Olustrad's Philosophy, p. 286.

sion of sound. Nearly 200 degrees of heat are thus developed by the mechanical action of the sound-waves.

Other gases than atmospheric air conduct sound with greater or less facility. Solids and liquids conduct it with much greater velocity than air. According to the experiments of M. Colladon, in 1826, sound travels through water at the rate of 4707 feet in a second, which is only ten feet more than the calculated velocity; so that but little heat is developed by water in transmitting sound. In his experiments M. Colladon used the bell as a sounding body, which was struck about three feet below the surface of the water, and he was enabled to hear it across the width of the Lake of Geneva, a distance of about nine miles.* The sound-wave passes through iron at the rate of about 17,000 feet in a second, and the various species of wood range from 11,000 to 17,000 feet. If an iron rod connected the moon to the earth it would require about two days and a half for the effect of a force applied at one end to reach the other.

The successive transmission of sound gives rise to some curious phenomena. Two persons placed at unequal distances from the source of sound cannot hear it at the same time. It is on account of this principle that in long ranks of soldiers where two bands of music are placed at a considerable distance from each other, it is impossible for the two bands to agree in keeping time. It is often noticed "that if from an eminence we look upon a long column which is marching to a band of music in front, the various ranks do not step exactly together. Those in the rear are in each step a little later than those before them. This produces a sort of undulation in the whole column, which it is difficult to describe, but which all who have noticed it well understand."† This is owing to the fact that all do not hear the music when it is made, but after the lapse of a time sufficient for sound to pass the interval between the music and the soldier, at the rate of 1125 a second, the velocity of sound at the ordinary temperature.

Two sounds may be so related to each other that they

*Bartlett's Acoustics, p. 42.

†Chamber's Information for the People, Vol. I, p. 210.

produce silence. This is caused by the interference of the sound-waves. If we throw two stones into the water near each other, there will be seen a line where the waves meet in such a way as to destroy one another, along which the water will be calm. Sound-waves may produce similar effects, and at such points no sound can be heard. Sound-waves may partly destroy one another, and very much weaken the sound; or they may operate together and increase the sound. Mixed gases, owing to the different lengths of the waves in each, may be bad conductors of sound. The gases, however, which compose atmospheric air, are so related as to produce no such effect.

An echo is one of the most interesting phenomena in acoustics. It is produced by the reflection of the sound-waves, as waves in water are reflected from smooth surfaces. A rough surface is a bad reflector of sound, as of light, because the irregularities reflect it in so many different directions, that the various waves interfere with one another. The velocity of reflected sound-waves is the same as that of direct, so that we can easily determine the time required for an echo to reach us, when we originate the sound, by considering that the sound has to pass over twice the distance between us and the reflecting surface at the rate of 1,125 feet a second. The number of syllables that we can hear distinctly echoed will depend on the rapidity with which we pronounce them, and the distance of the reflecting surface. If the reflecting surface be near, the echo and the direct sound will reach us so nearly together that the former will strengthen the latter. There is a limit to this, however, and it is evident that a speaking hall should be constructed in accordance with this principle. In large rooms used for speaking purposes, all echoes which can accompany the voice of the speaker, syllable by syllable, are useful for increasing the volume of sound; but all that reach the hearers sensibly later only tend to produce confusion. Professor Henry found by experiment that if a sound and its echo reach the ear within from one-fifteenth to one-twentieth of a second, depending upon the nature of the sound, they seem as one. This is called the limit of perceptibility. This gives

us for the distance of the reflecting surface from thirty to forty feet.*

If we take the mean of these numbers as the usual limit, we see that if a lecture hall have its walls farther from the speaker than thirty-five feet, some arrangement must be made to prevent the echo from interfering with the distinctness of the direct sound. Those who are within thirty-five feet of the echoing surface will hear the speaker more distinctly than without its effect; but others will find it a disadvantage. Distant walls should be broken up into small portions, presenting surfaces in different directions. This may be effected in various ways. There may be a gallery with the seats and the floor rising rapidly behind one another, so that much of the sound which would otherwise reach the remote wall, will be caught directly by the hearers. "Especially should no large and distant surfaces be *parallel* to nearer ones, since it is between parallel walls that prolonged reverberation occurs."

Walls intended to aid a speaker by their echoes should be smooth, but not too solid. It is found that plaster on lath is better than plaster on brick or stone; the first echo is louder and the reverberations less. Drapery behind a speaker deprives him of just so much echoing surface. A lecturing hall is improved by causing the wall behind the speaker to change its direction to the right and left of the speaker, at a very obtuse angle, so as to exclude the rectangular corners from the room. The voice is in this way reinforced by reflection, and the resonance arising from parallel walls is in a measure avoided. The ceiling should not be too high; and concave surfaces, generally, should be avoided. "An equal diffusion of sound throughout the apartment, not concentration of it to particular points, is the object to be sought in the arrangement of its parts."†

In Chamber's "Information for the People,"‡ it is said that "the best known form of apartment for the proper distribution of sound, is that in which the length is from

* Am. Sci. Dis. for 1852, pp. 153-4.

† See a paper on "Acoustics applied to Public Buildings, by Professor Joseph Henry, in the Proceedings of the Am. Assoc., Albany, 1856.

‡ Vol. I., p. 250.

a third to a half more than the breadth, the height somewhat greater than the breadth, and having a roof bevelled off all round the sides. This species of ceiling, called, technically, a coved or *coach roof*, from its being lower at the sides than centre, is in all cases best suited for conveying sounds clearly to the ears of auditors."

The principles of acoustics are well understood, but they are too seldom applied to the construction of speaking rooms. In many instances costly assembly halls and churches are very defective in regard to public speaking. The fancy of the architect seems rather to be consulted in their construction, than scientific principles. "The subject urgently demands consideration in connection with architecture."*

Reflecting surfaces may be so related to one another as to cause multiple echoes. At Srevley-Fels, on the Rhine, is a position in which a sound is repeated by echo, seventeen times. At the Villa Sinsonetta, near Milan, is another where it is repeated thirty times.† In Woodstock Park there is an echo which repeats seventeen syllables by day and twenty-eight by night. Sir John Herschel mentions an echo in the Manfroni palace at Venice, where a person standing in the centre of a square room, about twenty-five feet high, with a concave roof, hears the stamp of his feet repeated a great many times, but as his position deviates from the centre the echoes become feebler and at a short distance they entirely cease.‡

If a sound be made in one focus of an ellipsoidal surface, it will be reflected to the other focus. Whispering galleries are constructed upon this principle. The ear of Dionysius is celebrated in ancient history. It was a grotto cut out of the solid rock at Syracuse, in which a person placed at one point could hear every word, however faintly uttered, in the grotto.

Lastly, we may refer to the *moral* effect of sounds, especially very loud sounds. The red man hears the voice of the Great Spirit speaking from out the cloud when it thunders;

* Chamber's Encyclopædia, vol. i, p. 32.

† Brewster's Natural Magic, p. 265.

‡ Bartlett's Acoustics, p. 89.

and a similar feeling, mingled with some fear, has a tendency to prevent man from wrong doing when the thunder roars, or when he hears such subterraneous sounds as accompany earthquakes.

ART. V.—1. *Report: Orange Lodges, Associations or Societies in Ireland.* Ordered by the House of Commons to be printed, July, 1835.

2. *Report: Orange Institutions in Great Britain and the Colonies.* Ordered by the House of Commons to be printed, September, 1835.

3. *Reports from the Select Committees appointed to inquire into the nature, character, extent, and tendency of Orange Lodges, Associations, or Societies in Ireland, with the Minutes of evidence, Appendix and Index.* Ordered by the House of Commons to be printed, 1835.

4. *Mr. Hume's Speech in the House of Commons, Feb. 23, 1836.*

5. *Battle of Magheramayo.* Newry: James Henderson, 1849.

6. *Mr. Berwick's Report to the Lord Lieutenant of Ireland, on the occurrences which took place in the District of Castletellen, on the occasion of an Orange Procession, on the 12th of July, 1849.* Dublin Evening Post, 17th October, 1849.

A LARGE proportion of those who inflict the most serious injuries on their neighbors do so under the impression that they are doing right; hundreds are guilty of conduct as members of a faction or society from which they would shrink with horror as individuals. The moralist as well as the philosopher should take this into account in estimating the amount of violence or depravity manifested in any particular community. Even those who are injured are bound to take into consideration the motives of their assailants. It is true that if one's leg or arm is broken, or his house burned, his pain or loss is not diminished by learning that his assailant was prompted by erroneous motives. Nevertheless no

one who reflects entertains the same feeling towards those who injure him through ignorance, under the impression that they are serving a good cause, which he does towards those who are actuated by personal malice or avarice. In this point of view ignorance is little better than insanity ; the wisest of the ancients made but little distinction between the two conditions of the mind ; and what great difference can be made at the present day between an ignorant man who is highly excited—especially if excited by fanaticism, a partisan spirit, and, perhaps, intoxicating drink—and a maniac ? The principal difference is that while the law holds the former responsible for his conduct, it expressly exempts the latter from punishment.

In making this comparison in allusion to the conduct of the Orangemen of Ireland we do not mean to make any attack on that body. We have no grudge to gratify against them ; they have never disobliged us personally in any manner ; on the contrary we cheerfully acknowledge that we have experienced much friendship from individual Orangemen, while we made no effort to conceal our dislike of a society which had contributed so much to the ruin of Ireland. Often we have reasoned with Orangemen in a public journal published in one of their own strongholds, endeavoring to induce them to reflect on their conduct and make themselves acquainted, at least in part, with the history of those in whose name, or in commemoration of whom they committed such deplorable excesses. Nor do we mean to pursue any more unfriendly course in this article ; at the same time we shall not shrink from presenting the facts to our readers.

Our object in taking up the subject at the present day is two fold : the American people have but little idea of the real character of the Orange Society ; and this little is by no means correct. It is but natural that Protestants should think that when other Protestants have had conflicts with Catholics as such, the latter, and not the former, must be the party to blame ; but in this instance at least the reverse is the case. That the lower order of the Catholics of Ireland often commit excesses, far be it from us

to deny; there is no reason why we should do so. But in their struggles with the Orangemen they have, in ninety-nine cases out of a hundred, acted purely on the defensive, although it would undoubtedly have been different had they not been restrained by their clergy.

When we speak, however, of the ignorance of Orangemen we would not be understood to represent all as ignorant; only the rank and file. Men of the highest intelligence have belonged, and we regret still belong, to the Society—members of all the learned professions, including many ministers of the established church.* It is this class who are chiefly to blame, because they know how absurd and vicious, as well as unpatriotic, the system is, and only ally themselves to it as a means of securing political influence, although not a few of them have emulated the most ignorant in their outrageous attacks on the Catholics. It is true that for some years past the higher class have, in general, kept aloof, at least from the public demonstrations of the Society; but it is only because they see that there is not much to be gained by the Orange prestige as long as the brethren are precluded by law, as they are at present, from marching in procession to insult and outrage their Catholic fellow countrymen and fellow subjects.

One part of our object is to show the American people what Orangeism really is, and we shall fully prove the facts we state, by Protestant testimony. The other principal part of our object is to dissuade Irish Protestants in the United States and British America from becoming members of a society which for nearly two centuries has proved the worst enemy of their native country. We wish to impress upon this class that, however absurd the Orange system is in

* It is nevertheless true that the Society could never boast of a single individual who had distinguished himself in literature, science, the arts, statesmanship, or eloquence. All who have so distinguished themselves, including Episcopalians and Presbyterians, have abhorred Orangeism as a curse to Ireland, and a disgrace to Protestantism. Nay more, there has not been one of the Protestants of Ireland who have rendered themselves illustrious by their genius, that had not as kind and friendly feelings towards the Catholics as he had towards the Protestants. This is true alike of Burke, Sheridan, Plunkett, Goldsmith, and Grattan. Even the Protestant Dean of St. Patrick's, far from hating his Catholic countrymen, vindicated their cause at the risk of his life; and heretic as he was, indulging in his joke about Popery as well as Presbyterianism, the Catholics loved him so enthusiastically that they frequently insisted on carrying him on their shoulders through the streets of Dublin.

Ireland, it becomes ten times more absurd when sought to be transplanted in America ; and its influence can scarcely be less pernicious in the New World than it has been in the Old. This will be the more readily admitted if it be borne in mind that the most bloody and disgraceful riots which have taken place on our railroads in different parts of the country have been excited by the demon of Orangeism—between “Fardowners” and “Corkonians ;” the former representing the Orangemen of the North, the latter the Catholics of the South. But Orangeism has not merely caused these internecine feuds in the United States ; it has also caused the burning of Catholic churches, from time to time, in different parts of the country. In short, at no time during the last twenty years has the Orange spirit found vent in Ireland, but its baneful influence has been felt to a greater or less extent in this country.

Now, before we place before our readers some of the doings of the Orangemen in Ireland, let us pause for a moment to see what was the origin of the system. Every student of English history is aware that next to Cromwell, William III., called the Prince of Orange, was, of all the more recent rulers of England the most ruthless oppressor of Ireland. This sovereign maintained a large fleet on the coast of Ireland for the purpose of seizing as pirates all vessels attempting to trade with that country. Irishmen charged with political offences in his time had no mercy to hope for ; even Cromwell did not give so much work to the hangman in Ireland, or so little trouble to judge or jury. The moment any Catholic charged with a serious offence by a “loyalist” was arrested he might calculate that his doom was sealed. His trial was a mere matter of form ; the gallows was already prepared for him !

Nor was it alone the Irish Catholics whom the Prince of Orange treated in this summary manner. His treatment of the Scottish Highlanders was still more ferocious and cruel. In proof of this it is almost sufficient to mention the massacre of Glencoe. Even Macaulay who has sought to make a hero of William could not deny that he deliberately signed the death-warrant of a whole tribe. In the annals of Pagan bar-

barism we read of no tyrant who authorized the commission of a more horrible outrage against humanity. The facts admitted by his most zealous apologists are sufficient to make one's blood run cold. Thus Macaulay informs us that a hundred and twenty soldiers marched to Glencoe with the order, virtually, to murder every living soul in the village. "The sight of the red coats approaching," says the historian, "caused some anxiety among the population of the valley. John, the eldest son of the chief, came accompanied by twenty clansmen, to meet the strangers and ask what this visit meant. Lieutenant Lindsay answered, that the soldiers *came as friends and wanted nothing but quarters*. They were kindly received and were lodged under the thatched roofs of the little community."^{*}

Thus the soldiers watched their opportunity to do their work as effectually as possible. "The long evenings," continues Macaulay, "were cheerfully spent by the peat fire with the help of some packs of cards which had found their way to that remote corner of the world, and of some French brandy which was probably part of James' farewell gift to his Highland supporters." In short, the poor people omitted nothing which they thought could contribute to the comfort of their guests; but they might as well have petted tigers or hyenas. "The orders which Glenlyon had received," says the historian, "were precise; and he began to execute them at the little village where he was himself quartered. His host, Inverrigan, and *nine other Macdonalds were dragged out of their beds bound hand and foot and murdered*. A boy twelve years old clung round the captain's legs, and begged hard for life. He would do anything; he would go anywhere he would follow Glenlyon round the world. Even Glenlyon, it is said, showed signs of relenting, but a ruffian, named Drummond shot the child dead. At Auchraion the tacksman, Auchinriater, was up early that morning, and was sitting with eight of his family round the fire when a volley of musketry *laid him and seven of his companions dead or dying on the floor*."[†]

^{*}Hist. of Eng., Vol. IV., c. XVII.

[†]Ib.

Every house in the valley presented similar scenes in proportion as the family was large ; women and children were treated, if possible, worse than the men. We give another instance in the words of Macaulay : "The door was opened ; MacIan, while putting on his clothes and calling to his servants to bring some refreshments for his visitors, was shot through the head. Two of his attendants were slain with him. His wife was already up and dressed in such finery as the princesses of the rude Highland glens were accustomed to wear. The assassins pulled off her clothes and trinkets. The rings were not easily taken from her fingers, but a soldier tore them away with his teeth. She died on the following day." Yet another sight is thus described : "About thirty corpses lay wallowing in blood on the dunghills before the doors. One or two women were seen among the number, and a yet more fearful and piteous sight, a little hand which had been lopped in the tumult of the butchery from some infant."* Age, childhood or sex, afforded no protection. "One aged Macdonald," continues Macaulay, "was found alive. He was probably too infirm to fly, and as he was *above seventy* was not included in the orders under which Glenlyon had acted. Hamilton murdered the old man in cold blood. The deserted hamlets were then set on fire, and the troops, departed, driving away with them many sheep and goats, nine hundred kine, and two hundred of the small shaggy ponies of the Highlands."†

Such are some of the results of one of the decrees of "William of glorious, pious, and immortal memory." Still worse must remain untold ; the details are too sickening. Now, what we ask our readers to remember is, that he who ordered this massacre is the hero of the Orangemen ; and those who do so and accompany us in this sketch will admit before we close that the Orange Society has proved fully worthy of the spirit of the hero as illustrated by Glencoe.

But this was not the first massacre in which William III. was concerned. He is grossly misrepresented by all the principal historians of Holland if he did not cause the mur-

* Ib.

† Hist. Eng., Vol. IV., p. 63, Butler's edition, Phila., 1856.

der of the scholar, author and statesman, John De Witt, his tutor and friend, and also that of his brother, Corneille DeWitt.* The brothers DeWitt being the last supporters of the republic were put out of the way very much in the Glencoe style; yet the person charged with having planned so base a crime—a crime certainly equal in turpitude to that of Nero in causing the death of Seneca—becomes the deity of the Orangemen of Ireland—"William of glorious, pious and immortal memory." He is "glorious" because he defeated at the Boyne, with well disciplined troops, what was no better, for war purposes, than a mob deserted by its leader. Never did he gain any other glory in the field, except it be glory to run away. He was, indeed, masterly at making retreats; but in all his battles with the French, aided by his allies, he never gained a single victory, but was invariably defeated.

How he was "pious" none but Orangemen could ever guess. As for his Protestantism it was simply the instrument of his ambition; had he thought that Catholicism or Mahommedanism would have served his purpose better he would have been as much its champion as he was that of Protestantism. It is very plausible to pretend that he treated his father-in-law and near relative, the unfortunate James II., in the treacherous manner he did, on account of his pious zeal for Protestantism; but no such excuse could be made for his treatment of his Protestant wife, Mary, who was always faithful to him, and devoted to his interests.† It was, perhaps, "pious," on the part of William, to choose a mistress from his wife's maids of honor, on the day of her marriage, subsequently making the same use of the sister of that mistress, while treating his lawful wife and cousin as if she were a mistress chosen from the inferior servants.

If all this was not "pious" perhaps it was so to compel his wife to keep company in public and private with men of

*Jean DeWitt et son frère, Corneille, derniers soutiens de la république, sont massacrés, et Guillaume vivement soupçonné d'avoir ordonné ce crime est, &c. — *Nouvele Biog. Gen.* tome xxii., p. 626.

† Vide Miss Strickland's *Queen's of England*, Mary II. Also Lingard's *Hist. of England*, vol. xiii., p. 235.

whose services he desired to avail himself ; this he did in several instances, but it is sufficient for our purpose to mention that of the Duke of Monmouth. " His intentions," says Miss Strickland, " it is well known, were inimical to Mary's father from whom he meant to rend the crown. The greatest intimacy had always subsisted in childhood between Mary and Monmouth, at the court of her uncle. *By the orders of the Prince of Orange*, and to the great displeasure of her father it was now *revived*. Mary, by the *command* of her husband, skated by day and danced by night with the handsome exile."²⁵

A short time previous, the "handsome exile" had abandoned his own wife, the Duchess of Buccleugh, in order that he might be enabled to live the more comfortably with his mistress, Harriet Wentworth. Mary objected to receiving this lady at court, but the Prince of "Glorious, pious and immortal memory" compelled her, not only to receive her, but to keep company with her ! † As to William's title to "immortality," that indeed cannot be disputed ; the two massacres we have mentioned would have conferred a certain kind of immortality on the basest and most stupid of the human race.

It is no pleasure to us to recall these facts ; we do not do so for the purpose of depreciating the character of William, or for that of giving offence to any sect or party ; but simply to point out to Orangemen and to those who might become Orangemen, what the real basis of the Orange society is. What the boasted "principles" of Orangeism are will be seen as we proceed ; it will also be seen how well the "loyal" performances at Glencoe in defence of the Protestant throne of England have been imitated, from time to time, in the valleys and hamlets of the north of Ireland, by those who rejoice in the proud title of "Williamites."

But as William III. is the deity of the Orangemen, so has His Royal Highness, the Duke of Cumberland, been their high priest. For several years he was their cherished and beloved Grand Master. Now, what was the character of this personage ? Every intelligent person can see for

²⁵ Queen's of England, Harper's abridged edition, p. 547.

† *Ib.*

himself from English testimony what Ernest Augustus was. If he had any other quality to recommend him to the Orangemen of Ireland, than his wish to oppress their native country, as much as possible, ostensibly because he hated Popery, but really because he wanted to treat Ireland as a conquered province that had no right to expect any lenity from the conqueror—if there was anything else in his character which ought to recommend him to a body of sensible, "pious," and "loyal" men, we have never been able to discover what it was. But that he had more bad qualities than fall to the lot of most royal personages has been discovered by every thoughtful, unprejudiced person, acquainted with the recent history of England.

It is well known that Ernest Augustus did his best to foment a rebellion in England in his own favor, under pretence that the Duke of Wellington was about to seize upon the throne for himself.* In the House of Lords he always aided the Tories in their most intolerant, bigoted and oppressive measures, especially in their legislation against Ireland. He called his brother George IV. a traitor when he heard that he was in favor of granting Catholic Emancipation. It was notorious that he did all in his power to influence the king against that measure. The animosity which he evinced against all in favor of Emancipation, excited the anger and disgust of William IV., then Duke of Clarence, who denounced his conduct as "infamous" and refused to give him any satisfaction for having done so. In a word, the English people detested the Duke of Cumberland so much, that he was obliged to spend most of his time in Germany.†

On succeeding to the throne of Hanover, he soon proved that his opposition to liberal principles was no passing whim. On the 28th of June, 1837, he ar-

* Martineau's Hist. of Eng., vol. III, p. 563.

† Les mauvaises dispositions qu'il excita contre lui se firent jour en différentes circonstances, entre autres à l'occasion du capitaine Grant, né dans la famille royale d'Angleterre par suite d'un mariage secret et d'un événement tragique arrivé dans son hôtel (la mort violente et mystérieuse d'un de ses valets de chambre) : mais il persista dans ses opinions, et se montra le constant adversaire de toutes les réformes proposées au sein du parlement et le plus ardent promoteur du système des tories. — *Nouvelle Biog. Génér.* T. XVI, p. 288—See also Martineau's Hist. vol. III, c. v.

rived in his capital, and on the 8th of July following, not fully two weeks, he announced in his letters-patent that he intended to set aside the constitution of Hanover. Even his Tory friends in England advised him not to take so rash a step ; but he was not to be dissuaded from doing anything in his power to keep down the masses. His first administrative act was to prorogue the Hanoverian parliament, called the Assembly of States, but in less than three months he dissolved it, and annulled the constitution, declaring that it had never been valid!*

It is almost needless to remark that he offended all classes of his subjects by this high-handed proceeding. The more thoughtful evinced their dislike in various ways. Seven professors of the University of Göttingen refused to proceed with the election of a representative until the constitution should be restored. For this they were immediately dismissed by the ex-Grand Master of the Orangemen, and three of them banished. No wonder that this caused serious riots, and it was still less to be wondered at that the students left the lecture rooms and escorted their exiled instructors over the frontier. The king pretended that the displaced professors were condemned by their brother professors ; but the misrepresentation did no good but much harm, for six more professors immediately came forward and declared their sympathy with the exiles. The troops had to be called out ; they suppressed the disturbance for the time. But Ernest Augustus soon found that he had not merely offended his own subjects ; several of the smaller German States, including Baden and Saxony, protested against the arbitrary proceedings of the king as a violation of the federal league of Germany ; and the justice of their protest was fully recognised by the Germanic Diet at its next meeting. Thus, finding his efforts at despotism foiled on every side, he was forced to restore the constitution which he had declared null and void.†

The reader may well ask what sympathy any class of

* Vide Marteneau's Hist. of England, vol. iv., pp. 119-20.

† Ses premiers actes annoncèrent une politique grosse de troubles et d'impopularité. Il en proclama une nouvelle en 1840 ; mais il ne fut guère fidèle à ce pacte fondamental. Ib.

Irishmen could have for princes of this character ; and it is a question which few could answer. There was a class, however, whose interest it was to sympathise with the enemies of their country ; that class was the wealthy landlords and those who owned the rich sinecures of the Established Church. It was their belief that in proportion as the Protestant and Catholic masses became friendly towards each other, the landlord system and the Law Church system would undergo a radical change. There was nothing they feared more than this, and in order to prevent it they would have sympathised with the Czar of Russia, the Sultan of Turkey, or any other despot who would have aided them in postponing the evil day.

This is the secret of the so-called respectability of the Orange Society ; it explains how it was that the wealthiest and most influential of the nobility headed the Orangemen in their processions, applauded such of their songs as "To hell with the Pope," "Croppies lie down," "The Protestant Boys," "The Pope in the pillory, and the devil throwing priests at him," &c., and not only drank and caroused with them until the peer could hardly be distinguished from the peasant ; but often encouraged them to the commission of the grossest outrages on their Catholic neighbours.

They incurred but little risk by conduct like this, seeing that they themselves were the "authorities," the magistrates, high sheriffs, grand jurors and crown prosecutors. The shop-keepers, mechanics, small farmers, and day-laborers of whom the Orange Society was principally composed, fancied themselves greatly raised in the scale of importance by being permitted to assemble in the same tavern, or town-hall, with the lords of the soil, "the nobility and gentry." They thought it could not be otherwise than noble and good to drink "the glorious, pious and immortal memory," and curse the Pope in such company ; and in order to feel satisfied that they were religiously employed all the time, even when they were murdering women and children, it was only necessary for them to remember that each lodge had its chaplain, who generally closed the proceedings with prayer, thanking God that they were not like the idolatrous

Papists around them who worshipped "the — of Babylon," &c.

We are well aware how much like exaggeration this must seem to any one who is not acquainted with the working of the Orange system in the North of Ireland; but we trust our readers know that we are not in the habit of indulging in statements of that character. That we do not in this case we shall abundantly prove by testimony, which if it were at all influenced by prejudice, the prejudice would naturally tend to the opposite side. It will be admitted that it is not likely that English, Scotch and Irish Protestants and Quakers would bear false testimony before select committees of the House of Commons against the Orangemen, and in favor of the Catholics. They could have no rational motive for being guilty of conduct so disgraceful.

Before presenting our readers any sworn testimony, we will quote a remark or two from the *Edinburgh Review* for January, 1850. "They (the Orangemen) composed the higher orders—grand jurors, sheriffs, magistrates, clergymen, members of parliament, peers, judges and privy councillors—and received the *physical support of the militia and yeomen who were constituted almost exclusively of Orangemen*. The Roman Catholic party, on the other hand, was composed of the lower order of the population, without leaders to guide and restrain them, almost without arms, (for the magistrates issued arms *to none but their own adherents*) without money to contend for justice in the courts of law, they had little to trust to but their numbers."*

This is undoubtedly a correct statement of the relative strength and influence of the Orangemen and the people whom it was their chief object to persecute and crush. A little further on, the same reviewer makes the following observation: "To give some idea of the responsibility falling upon those who encourage Orange processions, we will enumerate a few of the principal Orange riots in the five years preceding the formal dissolution of the society in 1836."†

We have not room to transcribe this bloody and dis-

* *Ed. Rev.*, vol. xcl. pp. 88—9.

† *Ib.*, p. 89.

graceful catalogue; we can only refer to it, such as may doubt the atrocities alluded to above. Some would naturally infer from the remark just quoted, in connection with our own references to the Society, as if it were merely a thing of the past, that there are no Orangemen, or no Orange Society at the present day. But were this the case we should never write the present article; for we have no desire to recall what was painful and disagreeable in the past, except when good may be attained by it, by putting the unwary on their guard, and if possible to induce them to profit by the experience of those who have gone before them.

But it is now time to present such fragments from the sworn testimony given before select committees as we can make room for; our first extract will be from that of Mr. Christie, a worthy member of the Society of Friends. This gentleman relates the experience of nearly 70 years, without any motive to misrepresent those among whom he had lived for so long a period. The salient points of his evidence are the following: "He heard some times of twelve or fourteen Catholic houses wrecked in a night and some destroyed"—(5570). "That this commenced in the neighborhood of Church-hill,' 'between Portadown and Dungannon, and then it extended over nearly *all the northern counties*.* * In the course of time, after the Catholics were many of them *driven from the country*, and took refuge in different parts of Ireland, I understood they went to Connaught. Some years after, when peace and quietness was in a measure restored, some returned again; probably five or six years afterwards. The property which they left was transferred, in most instances, to Protestants; where they had houses, and gardens and small farms of land, it was generally handed over by the landlords to Protestant tenants. That occurred within my knowledge.' He further says, "It continued for two or three years, but was not quite so bad in 1796 and 1797 as it was earlier. After this wrecking, and the Catholics were driven out, what was called the Break-of-Day party, merged into Orangemen; they passed from the one to the other, and the gentlemen in the country procured what they termed their Orange warrants to enable them to assemble legally, as they

termed it. The name dropped, and Orangeism succeeded to Break-of-Day Men"—(5575.)

Seeing that the society was little more than in its infancy at this time, it must be admitted that it promised to realize the most sanguine expectations of its founders and high priests; its conduct was yet comparatively mild, however. Murdering a few priests here and there, burning a Catholic village, and forcing the inhabitants to seek shelter in the woods, and then hunting them up as robbers, or rather as wild beasts, were but trifles to the scenes enacted in subsequent years, when it was pretended that there was danger of another "Popish plot."

The proofs of these facts are sufficient to satisfy the most skeptical. We may quote almost at random from the various reports before us. Thus, for instance, Mr. Hunter, a magistrate and a Protestant, testifies as follows :

"A scene then occurred, the most frightful and disgraceful ever witnessed ; no one who has not seen a drunken mob of at least seven hundred men, armed, excited, and out of uniform, can conceive anything like it ; the Orangemen pressed on with shouts and imprecations ; many shots were fired by them in the rear, and an attempt made to overpower the military ; the magistrates again read the riot act, and the soldiers were ordered to charge bayonets ; after a struggle of about half an hour, during which the Orangemen did everything in their power to insult and intimidate the magistrates, they were forced back to Bellaghy at the point of the bayonet, fortunately without loss of life ; and if it had not been for the admirable discipline of the officers and men, the temperate conduct of the magistrates, events the most deplorable must have happened. After this repulse the Orangemen from a distance marched home in procession, and tranquility appeared to be restored." *

It is but justice to say, that although the landed proprietors of Ulster were, in general, in favor of Orangeism for the reasons mentioned above, there have always been noblemen in reality as well as by title, whose Protestantism, or "loyalty" could not blind them to the atrocious outrages committed by the Orangemen on the defenceless Catholics who surrounded them. Among this class of noblemen none de-

* Appendix to Report of Select Committee, p. 249. See the same testimony, and much more, quoted in the *British and Foreign Review*, vol. ii., pp. 360. et seq.

serves a more honorable mention in the page of history, than the late Lord Gosford who, as Governor of Armagh, convened the magistrates of the county in order to adopt some measures for the protection of the Catholics from their Orange assassins and plunderers, and addressed them in the following language :

"It is no secret that a *persecution*, accompanied with all the circumstances of *ferocious cruelty* which have in all ages distinguished that dreadful calamity, is now raging in this country. Neither *age*, nor even *acknowledged innocence* as to the late disturbances is sufficient to excite mercy, much less afford protection. The only crime which the wretched objects of this merciless persecution are charged with, is a crime of easy proof ; it is *simply a profession of the Roman Catholic faith*. A *lawless banditti* have constituted themselves judges of this species of delinquency, and the sentence they pronounce is equally concise and terrible ; it is nothing less than a confiscation of all property, and immediate banishment. It would be extremely painful, and surely, unnecessary, to detail the *horrors* that attend the execution of so wide and tremendous a proscription, which certainly exceeds, in the comparative number of those it *consigns to ruin and misery*, every example that ancient or modern history can afford. For where have we heard, or in *what history of human cruelties* have we read, of *more than half the inhabitants of a populous country* deprived at one blow of the means as well as of the fruits of their industry, and driven in the midst of an inclement winter to seek a shelter for themselves and their helpless families where chance may guide them ? This is no exaggerated picture of the horrid scenes now acting in this country ; yet surely it is sufficient to awaken sentiments of *indignation and compassion in the coldest heart*. Those horrors are now acting, and acting *with impunity*. The spirit of impartial justice (without which law is nothing better than tyranny) has for a time *disappeared* in this country, and the supineness of the magistracy is a topic of conversation in every corner of this kingdom !"—*Evidence*, 3251. See, also, Ed. Rev., vol. 62, p. 473.

This is a gloomy picture, but by no means overdrawn. A hurried glance at particular occurrences will serve to illustrate the statement of his lordship. Nor need we go back farther than 1830. In this year a large body of police were unable to prevent the Orangemen from attacking the poor Catholic peasantry at Crossgar in the county of Down. They had to call the military to their aid ; and even the troops had considerable difficulty in preventing the utter

extermination of a whole village. The same year they made a similar attack at Dungannon, another at Tanderaghee, and another at Maghera, in Londonderry. In no instance were they satisfied without blood. At Maghera the Catholics first made some resistance; but they dispersed in obedience to the magistrate. The Orangemen promised to do the same; but as soon as the troops were out of the way they rushed upon the village of Drummond. The inhabitants fled, but this did not save themselves or their humble dwellings; many of the former were shot down in their flight and many of the latter were set on fire and burned.

The same year a body of Orangemen marched in procession through the Catholic village of Mahery, in Armagh, playing "Croppies lie down," "Protestant Boys" and "To hell with the Pope." Some Catholic boys broke their drums. Two days after the Orangemen made a general onslaught on the village. No opposition was made; the Catholics being comparatively few and unarmed fled with their lives. All who were unable to do so, either by sickness or old age, were treated in the most brutal manner; as usual several were killed. A widow woman, within eight days of her confinement, was stabbed with a bayonet and knocked down. Twenty-eight houses were set on fire, and burned, and all they contained was pillaged and destroyed.* All this took place in presence of Col. Verner, who was both a magistrate and Orange Grand Master of the county. But were the assassins and incendiaries punished? The whole affair was, indeed, brought into court; but while the Roman Catholics were convicted and sentenced to three months' imprisonment for breaking the drums, not a single Orangemen received the least punishment! †

In 1831, an old woman was shot in her house at Tullyorier,

* Lord Gefford, in his testimony before the House of Commons, makes the following statement: "Did you hear that on that occasion there was a man of the name of John Moore, a poor bedridden man, who had been confined to his bed six months prior to this, and that they carried him out of the house to the snow, where he perished? I think he was; they carried him out and hid him somewhere; it was very severe weather, and he died very shortly after his removal."—See Brit. and For. Rev., p. 362.

† Vide Ed. Rev., vol. 91, p. 90.

in the county of Down, and four men were pursued by the Orangemen, fired upon and driven into the river, where they were drowned. In 1832, while the Party Procession's Act was pending before Parliament, the usual bloody scenes were enacted at Dungannon. The following year there were frightful Orange riots at Lurgan, Tanderagee, Loughall, Ballyhagen and Cootchill. But the briefest catalogue of the outrages committed would exhaust our space.

In commenting on some of these outrages a writer in the *Edinburgh Review* remarks: "But the case of the Macken riots is of a darker dye. Here the Orangemen not only were not tried, but the *offenders* on their side were actually summoned as *jurymen* upon the trial of their Catholic opponents; who being thus tried by a jury exclusively Orange, or Protestant, contrary to instructions from the Attorney-General, on being found guilty, *one man was hanged* and the rest were transported."—(7423; also Appendix G, 226.)* Thus the Catholics are attacked by the Orangemen with the utmost ferocity; the former try to defend themselves against an overwhelming armed mob, and for this they are hanged and transported. But let us give a few particulars to show how such sentences were passed in the name of justice. The first case that occurs to us is that of Dromore in the county of Tyrone; part of the sworn testimony, which could not be disputed, is as follows: "Lieutenant Hamilton came marching into the fair in the evening, with a party of his own company of yeomanry. They were armed with their guns and bayonets; the country had been disturbed a good deal with party feuds. One corps assaulted several Catholic persons as they came into town. * * *

When they arrived opposite the house of a man named James Kelly, a publican, Lieutenant Hamilton ordered them to halt, and immediately after that he gave them the word of command to prime, and load, and fire into the house, which order they obeyed. Several persons that were there taking refreshment were wounded by the shot, and the deceased Michael McBrien was killed."

* Ed. Rev., vol. 62, p. 492.

The Lieutenant who acted in this manner was the son of a magistrate who was captain of the same Orange corps. As a matter of course the magistrates refused to issue a warrant; far from having been punished in any manner for this murderous outrage, Lieut. Hamilton was appointed a magistrate of the same county a few years afterwards. It is but just to say that in this case also there were Protestant landlords who were quite willing to punish the murderers. Lord Belmore received "informations" against Lieut. Hamilton and the whole corps of yeomanry, but it was no use. The accused were allowed to remain at large on verbal bail; when the time for the usual sort of trial came Lieut. Hamilton did not appear; and he is heard of next as a justice of the peace for the very county in which he deliberately ordered the murder of innocent men.*

Now be it remembered that at this time the leading journals of England as well as of Ireland were in the Orange interest, including the London Times, Post, and Herald, and the Dublin Evening Mail, and Evening Packet. In order to please their Orange supporters these journals used to call the Irish Catholic priesthood "surpliced ruffians," "atrocious hypocrites," "wolfish fiends," &c., &c., while all their ruffianism, hypocrisy and fiendishness consisted in doing all in their power, in an unobtrusive, peaceful manner to protect their people from outrage and wrong; and however ignorant the lower classes of the Catholics were at this time, they had sufficient common sense to appreciate devotion to their interests; and accordingly the more their priests were abused and insulted, the more they respected and loved them. We can bear testimony to these facts from our own observation; but most of them must necessarily seem so incredible to Protestants, who have never witnessed such scenes, that we deem it incumbent upon us to sustain our statements by an amount and variety of evidence which would convince even a prejudiced jury against its will. And here we are again reminded of the evidence of the honest Quaker, who says: "When the

*See Evidence before Committee, 7326 to 7332; also Ed. Rev. for Jan., 1836, p. 439.

wrecking of Catholic chapels took place in my neighborhood, it was observed by myself and by many others that while lying, *unroofed* the Catholics, *no matter how severe the weather*, attended more attentively to their duty during that time than was observable when they had a good house to go into. * *

As I passed by these burnt chapels in the winter time, *where they had to kneel down in the snow six inches deep*, I really pitied them."*

It is pleasant to remark that if the newspapers of the day were in the habit of pandering to the bad passions of the stronger, or wealthier side, the English quarterlies pursued the opposite course. We have several of these periodicals before us now, including the Edinburgh Review, the Westminster Review, and the British and Foreign Review, each of which denounces the conduct of the Orangemen in the strongest terms. In none of these is there any abuse of priests; on the contrary, each speaks of them in the language of approbation and respect, because, in calmly and dispassionately examining the facts, they could not do otherwise without being guilty of injustice, and thereby putting themselves on a level with the thoughtless fanatics, whose conduct they discuss. Commenting on the affair at Dolly's Brae, which has given that village a bloody fame, the Edinburgh Review remarks, that Mr. Thomas Scott, one of the magistrates, "makes honorable mention (in his report to government) of the Roman Catholic priest, Mr. Morgan, *who exerted himself to the utmost to keep the people quiet*." It was, however, no use, so far as the Orangemen were concerned; his being peaceful, and as conciliatory as possible, was nothing to them. As he approached, they cried, "There's a priest—to hell with the priest—to hell with the Pope!"†

While one part of the Orange column occupied itself in firing at the Catholics, we are told that "those who were in front broke loose from all restraint in Mahera-mayo, *where there was no opposition*, and began to burn and wreck the houses, while some scattered themselves over

* Irish Rep., 5700.

† Ed. Rev. for Jan., 1859, p. 162.

the fields to complete the same work of devastation.”* Mr. Scott, the magistrate already alluded to, testifies that he saw two Orangemen trying to set a house on fire ; and that, in order to prevent it, he struck one and took the gun from the other. Mr. Tighe, another magistrate, deposes that he saw an Orangeman firing into the thatch of a house for the purpose of setting it on fire, but admits that he made no attempt to arrest him. Mr. Curry, police inspector, testifies that he entered six burning houses ; an old woman was struggling to escape from one, but the door was partly closed and the blazing thatch falling over it. A policeman rescued a girl eighteen years old from another house. Sub-Constable Fair took a woman out of a house on fire, blackened and wounded. Another constable testifies that he saw an Orangeman *strike a woman* with the butt of his gun, as she was trying to escape from the flames. Mr. Fitzmaurice, stipendary magistrate, testifies that he stopped a man in the act of firing at a girl who was rushing from her father's house. An old woman of seventy was murdered ; and the skull of an idiot was beaten in with the butts of Orange muskets. The Roman Catholic chapel, the house of the Roman Catholic curate, and the *National school-house* were fired into and the windows broken, and a number of the surrounding houses of the Roman Catholic inhabitants were set on fire and burnt, every article of furniture having been first wantonly destroyed.†

We pause here for a moment to remark that doubtless many of our readers will wonder why the Orangemen would attack a national school-house, since the national schools are those established by the British government and over which the Catholics had no control. Yet their burning the school-house was no accidental occurrence. It was sufficient for them that Catholics were admissible to those schools ; accordingly they gave them all the opposition in their power. We have now before us copies of many resolutions passed with acclamation at their public meetings, of which the following will serve as a specimen : “That as Protestants we *reprobate*

* *Ib.*

† Berwick's Report to the Lord Lieutenant of Ireland. See also *Ed. Rev.*, vol. 91, p. 103.

the new system of National Education, and that we *will not listen to any pastor* whom we see to encourage it, or whom we know to approve of it.”*

There is abundance of testimony in the Reports, and other works before us, to show that this was not the only point in which they wished to control their pastors. In illustration of this, we may remark that the Rev. Mr. Brydge, a Presbyterian clergyman, was expelled from his church because he refused to give evidence in favor of an Orangeman named Richey, charged with murdering several Catholics, and burning their houses. We quote a fragment from the sworn testimony of Mr. Bell:

“They threatened him; they came into the meeting-house, yelling and shouting, and threatening him when he was in the pulpit, and ordered him from it, and he remonstrated with them and begged of them to hear him in his own defence; and if they did, that he was certain they would all give him credit for what he had done; for that he had acted conscientiously, that he was afraid of doing harm to the young man, and they would not hear him.

“6795.—Have you fully related what occurred on the second day? No, not fully.

“6796.—State all the important circumstances of that day? I went so far as my going for a magistrate; he came and remonstrated with the people, and they would not attend to him by any means. They said, ‘Away with him;’ they said they would not suffer him there; that they would have neither trial nor anything else, but put him away, in consequence of his not supporting this man: then after leaving the place they were likely to trample us down, Mr. Brydge and his friends, but we escaped on that day. I suppose I need not take up the time of the Committee in stating a number of particulars that I cannot be precise about, but the rage of the Orange party was such that we could not stand before them at all, nor could we be heard. When Mr. Brydge called a meeting of the Presbytery, the only authorized body to investigate the matter which was complained of, they *pulled down several seats in the meeting-house, and destroyed part of the pulpit and windows.*”†

Our readers are aware that at the present day it is the Catholic priests that are accused of opposing schools, and wishing to keep their people in ignorance; and the accusation

* Irish Report, 3, Appendix, p. 32. Ed. Rev., vol. lxii., p. 479.

† Those who cannot see the Parliamentary Rep. are referred to the Brit. and Foreign Rev pp. 370-1.

is made consistently enough by the members of a party who really have opposed education. It is very true that the priests of Ireland have been opposed to schools established for the express purpose of proselyting; but no class of educated men have taken more pains to aid in establishing schools. We can bear testimony ourselves, as eye-witnesses, that in numerous instances those much abused Irish priests have become teachers themselves in their own parishes, and taught the poor gratis when they had no other means of instruction. We can also testify that some of the most learned and most accomplished private teachers we have met in Ireland, or anywhere else, belonged to this class. But intelligent Americans, such as we have the honor of addressing, need no testimony at the present day to satisfy them that Catholic priests are not enemies of education. The number of colleges which they have established throughout the United States, chiefly for the benefit of the poorest classes of our adopted citizens, not to mention academies, seminaries and schools, would not only fully acquit them of any such charge, but prove that no other class evince a more earnest, indefatigable zeal in favor of the good cause.

A similar charge is made against them, in regard to favoring aristocracy; but the truth is that their teaching is more republican than that of any other clergy whatever, and for this, much more than for their "Popery," have they been so much disliked by the Tory landlords of Ulster. But of all parties or sects, none have been more in favor of aristocracy in its worst form than the Orangemen of Ireland. There is little research necessary in order to find sufficient evidence of this. At the very meeting at which the resolution against the National schools, which we have just quoted, was unanimously passed, another resolution was passed with equal unanimity, which runs thus: "That the support we speak of means to encourage Protestant tenants on the one hand, and to defend Protestant land owners on the other; to *preserve a Protestant population, and to keep at its head an aristocracy truly Protestant.*" These resolutions were adopted at a meeting of the Grand Orange Lodge of the county Tyrone, which was held on the 27th of April, 1832. Joseph Green, Esq., Grand

Master, in the chair. Many similar resolutions have been passed within the last decade, but we prefer quoting these because they are to be found in works which are accessible to our readers.*

The "resolutions" passed by the Orangemen at their public meetings may well seem intollerant and absurd, but their petitions to the reigning sovereign are, if possible, still more so. We cannot give our readers a more correct idea of these curious documents than by quoting a stanza or two from Moore's "Petition of the Orangemen of Ireland," which can hardly be called a burlesque, so faithfully does it represent the spirit, if not the letter of the real "petitions," as duly approved by such pious divines as the Rev. Mr. Mortimer O'Sullivan, the Rev. Sir Harcourt Lees, &c.:

"That, forming one-seventh, within a few fractions,
Of Ireland's seven millions of hot heads and hearts,
We hold it the basest of all base transactions
To keep us from murd'ring the other six parts :

* * * *

"That 'tis very well known this devout Irish nation
Has now, for some ages, gone happily on,
Believing in two kinds of substantiation,
One party in *Trans* and the other in *Cons* :

"That we, your petitioning *Cons*, have, in right
Of the said monosyllable, ravaged the lands,
And embezzled the goods, and annoy'd day and night,
Both the bodies and souls of the sticklers for *Trans*."

We have already given a glimpse of the sort of efforts made "to preserve a Protestant population," &c. We will now give a further insight of the *modus operandi*, although we have but little space left for that purpose. Returning to the bloody performances at Mayeramayo, we quote a passage or two from the testimony of sworn witnesses, promising that this is the only instance in which we adduce the evidence of Catholics; although their testimony is corroborated in every important particular by Protestant magistrates, inspectors of police, &c. Some of the

* Vide Ed. Rev. for Jan. 1836, p. 479.

scenes which took place in the houses, and which have already been alluded to, are best described in the simple, unvarnished language, of the poor people on whom the attacks were made :

"Bridget King—I know Pat King, who was killed on the 12th of July; he was taking care of his mother on that day; the door was shut. I saw the Orangemen fire at the house; they broke in the door; they pulled him over the garden ditch, and stabbed him; he died in ten minutes afterwards; he was not out of the house that day."

"Margaret King—I was in the house when the door was broken and my uncle Pat King killed; the house filled with Orangemen; one of them hit him on the head with a stone; three of them then took him down to the low room; I got into a field; one of the Orangemen said—'D—n your soul for a Popish b—h,' and knocked me down off the garden ditch with a stone; when I returned to the garden, three of them *beat my uncle down and were stabbing him*; I got into a byre and hid in some hay; some of them came in and stabbed the cow in two places, broke the stake, and let her out. When I could do so with safety I went to my uncle, and got his head on my knee; he lived about ten minutes after that. The dragoons came up just as my uncle was dying; one of them said—'Maybe he'll come to again.' They (the Orange) d—d my grandmother, who is an old bed-ridden woman the last year and a half—*spat in her face, hit her on the head with a stone—cut her arms, and then smashed a chair on her forehead.*"—*Berwick's Report to the Lord Lieutenant of Ireland, 1849.*

On the same occasion Arthur Traynor was shot in the cheek. On the police coming up he was made prisoner, although Mr. Beers, Orange Grand Master, admitted that he was a peaceably disposed man. Besides being dangerously wounded, his house was burned and all his property destroyed, while no one could pretend that he was guilty of any misconduct; but the Orange magistrates boasted of their impartiality because they did not send him to jail for some months with other "Papists" who had been in the Orangemen's way in a similar manner. His wife testifies as follows :

"Margaret Traynor—The men with sashes on them fired into my house, and burned it, and destroyed it; they chased the old woman who is dead into the byre, and followed her; I saw her after they went away; she was then drawing breath, but she died in about an hour afterwards. They shot my husband in the cheek and made a prisoner of him. I saw Pat King a killing; they dragged him out of his house; he begged for mercy; he got away from them and ran into the garden ;

three of the men made a bounce at him ; others following them ; they stoned him in the garden ; I saw him gathering himself up and begging for mercy."—*Ib.*

In speaking of the affair at Maghera, Mr. Hunter, the magistrate, whose testimony has already been alluded to, closes his official report with the following description :

"There was not a human being to be seen in the whole district, they had all fled ; and the *yells and screams* of Orangemen, *whilst setting fire to the houses*, the deliberate discharge of their musketry upon the straggling people, whilst flying, and their own appearance, stripped to their shirts, and covered with smoke and powder, can never be effaced from the memory of those who witnessed it.

"Any thing so disgraceful to the character of men, and of Protestants, so *savage*, so *lawless*, and so uncalled for, cannot be forgotten : the whole was done with such deliberation, and open defiance of the law. The magistrate from Maghera, at the peril of his life, rode up to the Orangemen on the spot, entreated them to desist, and read the Riot-Act for the third time, but nothing would satisfy them. The magistrate was fired at, and the bullet struck the ground within a few yards of his horse."

We could fill, not an article, but an octavo volume with testimony of this kind ; but we think our readers will excuse us from giving any more of such details. Quite enough has been given to show what the character of Orangeism really is. Who will deny that we have proved that scenes have been enacted by the Orangemen, in the north of Ireland, that are fully entitled to rank in baseness and atrocity with the massacre of Glencoe, or any other massacre ? Nor has any unprejudiced writer, who has ever discussed the subject, expressed a different opinion. The several English and Scotch periodicals now before us denounce the whole system in the strongest language which it would be proper to apply to the worst malefactors that have ever disgraced humanity. "Whether," says the British and Foreign Review, "the society, framed under such circumstances of atrocity, has preserved *the features of its parentage*, and in its maturity has maintained the character that distinguished its *birth and growth*—whether cradled as it was in atrocity, and *nursed with blood*, it has been sustained by the same aliment, or has undergone a change of habits and tendencies and lost its first and

original instincts—let those who peruse *the frightful recitals* contained in these reports, determine.”*

Although it is in the north of Ireland Orangemen have done their worst, they have evinced the same ferocious and bloodthirsty spirit wherever they had the power. In the south of Ireland there are several Orange colonies introduced by Tory landlords; the town of Bandon, for example, is chiefly Orange, and accordingly it figures in the reports before us, as nearly like the northern towns, whose performances we have noted above, as could be expected from an isolated branch of the Society, surrounded on all sides by Catholics.

Of this fact, also, we have, unhappily, but too much evidence. Lord Bandon, the very gentleman who organized a certain Orange corps, called the *Boyne Society*, in the heart of Catholic Munster, is forced to admit that the conduct of that corps has been disgraceful. In a long letter of his which appears at page 19, of the Appendix to the Irish Report, the following passage occurs :

“Nothing that Colonel Auriel, their officers, or myself could say or do, could induce them to pull the Orange lily from their caps, although this was no anniversary day; and we could impute the wearing of the badge to insolent contempt of all subordination (and an opposition to the discovery of the offenders,) alone. I must own I have been extremely hurt at this behaviour, having always felt *the greatest partiality for the yeomanry of Bandon*, who, I am sorry to add, in their present temper, seem *quite unfit to be trusted with arms*, (if the preservation of the peace of the country is to be considered,) as their *unnecessary violence* cannot but *exasperate* their neighbors of a different persuasion.”—See Brit. and For. Rev. for April, 1836, pp. 363-4.

It is impossible for any one familiar with the above scenes to read the history of Bandon without asking what would have become of its Orange inhabitants, had their Catholic neighbors pursued towards them the same relentless, atrocious course which their northern brethren have pursued towards their Catholic neighbors. A greater contrast could not be presented than that between the Ulster Orangemen, and the Munster Catholics in this respect; had it been otherwise, the whole colony might have been exterminated in one night, especially as the

* Brit. & For. Rev., vol. ii, p. 361.

Bandon Orangemen are fully as insulting and aggravating as their brethren of the North. At the same time it must not be supposed that the system is fiendish only on Irish soil; it is so wherever it is allowed to take root. In one of the parliamentary reports before us, we find a passage which fully sustains us in this opinion :

"As a proof of the baneful effects of the existence of Orangeism in Scotland, Mr. Innes states one example, where a *lodge of pitmen* lately expelled from their body all the Catholics, who had previously lived and worked together with them in peace and harmony.

"Your Committee will only add, that the mischievous effects of Orange Lodges shown, though on a small scale in Scotland, *may be expected wherever such a system is upheld and protected* by men of high rank—and by influential members of society: a reference to the evidence before the House, of the working of Orangeism in Ireland, on the broadest scale, and after many years continuance, *will completely bear out that opinion.*"

This alone would fully justify us for writing the present article; for Orangeism is by no means dead at the present day. The anniversaries of the Boyne, Aughrim, &c., are still commemorated, not only throughout the North of Ireland, but also in Canada and New South Wales; and if they ever pass without more or less rioting and bloodshed, we do not remember a single instance in which this has been the case.

But nowhere else has Orangeism exhibited the same deadly venom which has contributed more than any other means to the ruin of Ireland. And well may the Genius of Erin still weep on the banks of the Boyne, where, as so pathetically represented by the national poet, she saw Discord drop his loaded quiver in the tide—

"Bat vain her wish, her weeping vain—
As time too well had taught her—
Each year the Fiend returns again,
And dives into that water."

No party has ever systematically wronged another without seeking some excuse for its conduct. Nor does the Orange party form an exception, for it has made several excuses from time to time—such as, that it is, "a Society of *Christians banded together against the corruptors of the word of God*,"* that "God is pleased with the extermination of

* Irish Rep. 3, ApP. 6.

idolators.”* But their chief excuse has been that they were obliged to arm in self-defence, against the Ribbonmen. The representation, being somewhat plausible, is believed by most Protestants in this country; but a very slight examination of the facts would show that in this case also the Catholics are wronged. Miss Martineau in her history of England takes careful, honest pains to ascertain the truth on this subject, and what she tells us is, that “investigation was made into the condition of Ribbonism, against which the Protestants declared themselves obliged to organize their Orangeism in self-defence; and, *to the surprise of the government no less than of others*, it was found that *scarcely anything* but the name existed. Frequently as the world had been, and still was, alarmed by intimations in the newspapers of *dreadful Ribbon-plots*, they were found, *on the most searching enquiry*, to be mere *bugbears*.”†

Doubtless most of our readers are aware that the statue of William III., in College Green, Dublin, was blown up on its pedestal on the 7th of April, 1836. “Here,” says the English Protestant historian, “was a Catholic outrage—an act of Ribbon sedition at last. But almost before this was said men began to smell some of the ‘dry powder’ (Orange) above referred to, in the train that blew up the statue. Government offered a large reward for the detection of the offenders; and the Dublin corporation offered as much again. The perpetrator was never discovered; but *some incidents of the time* caused a *general impression* that the hand employed was that of a wrathful Orangeman.”‡

No intelligent person doubts this at the present day. It is well understood that, indignant at the laws recently passed against their processions, the Orangemen wished to show the government what was to be expected from the Catholics when they had no longer any opposition to fear from “loyalists.” Accordingly the Orange papers loudly and wrathfully exclaimed. “This is but the prelude! If this brutal outrage is allowed to pass with impunity, no loyal

* Berwick's Rep. Ap. &c., &c.

† Vol. 4, p. 7.

‡ Martineau's Hist. of Eng., vol. iv., p. 8.

Protestant will be safe." The attempt to create a panic failed, however, and no loyal or disloyal Protestant was killed by Catholics on account of the anti-Orange Processions Act.

But the destruction of the Orange idol was not the only means had recourse to at this time for the purpose of exciting the fears of liberal Protestants, and bringing their fears to bear on the existing government. We will mention one more; and in accordance with the course we have adopted throughout this article, when making any statement that might seem incredible, we avail ourselves of English Protestant testimony. "In consequence," says the historian last quoted, "of a government prohibition of Orange processions in the north, a pamphlet was widely circulated which called on Orangemen *to break the law, because government did not punish such breaches of the law as the swarming of Jesuits throughout the land, and the rearing of the unhallowed heads of monasteries*"* But enough as to what the system has been in Ireland. Has there ever been a worse system anywhere, in ancient or modern times?

Many attempts have been made to establish Orange lodges in the United States; they have, indeed, entirely failed as such; but have not failed to do much mischief. The most thoughtless American could not be convinced that there could be much glory, piety or patriotism, in murdering his Catholic fellow-citizens in commemoration of the battles of Aughrim and the Boyne; accordingly, none but Irish, Scotch, English and Canadian Orangemen, and their immediate descendants and relatives, have ever belonged to the lodges of New York, Boston, and Philadelphia. If Americans, or any men in favor of free institutions and the rights of conscience, or opposed to despotism, bigotry and intolerance, have been inveigled into those secret and pernicious conventicles, they have soon withdrawn from them in disgust.

It has, therefore, been found necessary to introduce the virus into the American body politic, under a new name, and so disguised that it cannot be detected until it has done at least a

* Martineau's Hist. of Eng., vol. IV., p. 7.

certain amount of harm. Thus it was that so many well-meaning people were imposed upon some years since, by what was called "Know-Nothingism." A large number who, from their position, ought to have had better sense, brought disgrace on themselves at this time. It will be remembered that all of a sudden they became terribly frightened "at the machinations of Popery." Not only were they afraid of the Jesuits and all monks; they were equally terrified at what the nuns might do—especially the Sisters of Charity. As for the Catholic chambermaids, laundresses, cooks, &c., they regarded the whole sisterhood, from Maine to California, as engaged in a conspiracy, the object of which was no less frightful than the extermination of all Protestants.

Even the legislature of an enlightened Commonwealth was altogether free from the general tripudiation; but so far exposed itself to public scorn and ridicule, as to make the first search for the supposed danger in the private chambers of a community of pious, exemplary ladies, engaged in the peaceful pursuit of teaching the youth of their sex. These, and other proceedings, we could mention, were much to be deplored, but they were only of brief duration. The good sense, liberality, and hatred of persecution characteristic of the American people, soon frowned down what, in reality, was but a milder type of Orangeism than that which committed such ravages in the vicinity of Aughrim, the Boyne, and Glencoe.

ART. VI.—1. *Georg Wilhelm Frederick Hegel's Leben, beschrieben durch Karl Rosenkranz* (*The Life of Wm. Frederick Hegel, by CHARLES ROSENKRANZ.*) Berlin.

2. G. W. F. HEGEL'S *Werke*. (*The works of Hegel.*) Berlin, 15 Bde.

By parentage Helgel was a pure Swabian. One a little familiar with German literature needs not to be told that this local designation is suggestive of the Doric element among the Greeks. To say that Swabia is the Teutonic Bœotia, however, would imply too much. For it is undeni-

able that many of the foremost German minds—Attie in cultivation, if not in native acuteness—are likewise Swabian.

Two or three centuries back the grand progenitor of the Hegels had migrated into Wurtemberg from Carinthia, induced thereto by religious motives. This event occurred not long after the Lutheran Reformation was established, and that movement received his zealous support. The descendants of this Hegel became numerous in Wurtemberg—though it appears they have since died out, or been transplanted—and were of middle rank, including some ecclesiastics and scholars. It was a clerical Hegel, as an admirer of the philosopher complacently records, that christened the poet Schiller.

George William Frederick Hegel, destined to give the name its chief celebrity, was born at Stuttgart, on the 27th of August, 1770. Nothing very remarkable, nothing that could even be suspected to bear a fabulous character, is related concerning his boyhood. When only in his sixth year, he had small-pox in its most malignant form, and was given up for lost. He became, in fact, wholly blind for several days, from the effects of the disease. A little earlier than this, even, he had begun to attend a Latin school; and he was a pupil at the gymnasium from the time he had completed his seventh year onward, until he went to the university. At eight he became acquainted with Shakspeare, through Wieland's translations, and took a lively interest, especially, in the "Merry Wives of Windsor." At ten, in addition to his other studies, he learned geometry and astronomy of a private instructor. This tutor (who rejoiced in the military title of Obrist, or Colonel,) also taught him, along with other boys, practical surveying, using the grass-plot before his own door as a field for experiment. The age of thirteen found the lad already more or less familiar with Latin, Greek and Hebrew. Such an extent of scholarship may well be deemed, in this country, something quite unusual for years so tender, yet to those about him it was no great marvel. As to physical grace or development, there is not very much to be said in his case. With a certain passion for some of the ruder sports, such as

violent leaping, he was yet but an awkward pupil of the dancing-master. A constantly excited and over-exerted brain gained the preponderance, thus early, in his bodily system, and remained henceforward, through life, rather morbidly than otherwise, in the ascendent. When yet a mere boy—no singular thing in such a case—he manifested signs of a political endowment, as well as symptoms of a germinating philosophical faculty of analysis.

At the gymnasium, Latin and Greek were his leading studies. He had a decided partiality for the latter language as compared with the former, but was a proficient in both. He came to write in Latin, according to the wont of the learned in his time, yet with a certain artificiality of manner that was specially noticed. While yet but seventeen, he made a complete written translation of Longinus on the sublime, still extant among his papers after his death; and at eighteen, he likewise put on paper a German version of the *Antigone* of Sophocles, a work which he thus early admired, and for which his enthusiasm continued unabated in maturer years. While these studies chiefly occupied him at school, and more or less at home, he also gave attention to mathematics in private, apparently attaining a good groundwork therein.

As a declaimer, at the gymnasium, he did not at all succeed. In fact, through his whole life, it was conspicuously evident that his oral delivery was very defective. "*Orator haud magnus*," was the entry against his name in the "*Seminarzeugniß*." He had abundance of gesticulation in speaking, but his postures of body, and the modulations of his voice, did not sufficiently harmonize with the matter of his discourse. To crown all, he was a confirmed stammerer.

On the other hand, he had, in these days, a certain elegance in his written compositions, quite in contrast with his elocution. His biographer says of him that he now possessed facility of expression in a rare degree; also noting that he wrote beautifully in the French language; while confessing "a clumsiness of Hegel's oral diction," such as was "laughable to witness."

His attention to minute details, in whatever he under-

took, was manifested in this earlier school period, as in later life. He bestowed great care on his chirography, giving distinctness to each letter, and their proper consequence to all, with no confused running together, or needless blotting, in any instance. While attending the gymnasium, he made a catalogue of a number of old works, classic or other, which he had collected, noting the full title, the place and date of publication, and the exact cost of each. His common-place books, or extracts and notes of readings, appear to have been quite as voluminous as Southey's. Perhaps they were still more miscellaneous, as they certainly were less strictly belle-lettresh. These excerpts during his school days, were, we are told, almost without limit. In after years, he made similar extracts from several of the leading journals of Europe, as well as from higher periodicals and books of all sorts.

Closing his school-days at Stuttgart, (æct. 18,) he was matriculated at the University of Tübingen, in the autumn of 1788. The specialty to which he was "consecrated" here was theology, his intended profession being that of an ecclesiastic. It is certainly not uninteresting to notice, with some particularity, the studies, and the mode of life in general, pursued by our philosopher during these so important years, from the nineteenth to the twenty-fourth of his age, passed at the university. The relation they had to his peculiar mental development and to the work before him will not escape any reader's attention.

In the first year of his course, he listened to lectures on the systematic exegesis of the Psalms, the Acts of the Apostles, and the Catholic Epistles, and diligently delved for the wisdom to be found in Cicero's treatise *De Natura Deorum*. In subsequent years, he read a now forgotten history of philosophy, and equally unnoteworthy works on Metaphysics and Natural Theology, by a voluminous Tübingen sage named Flatt. With his regular theological courses, he also listened to the orthodox "but rather dry" lectures of Professor Stow on Matthew, Luke, John, the canonical Epistle to the Romans, and dogmatic theology. Along with these prescribed and not especially invigorating studies,

he pursued a course of his own in the science of anatomy, as an episode in his professional preparation.

During the latter period of his university days, he had an attack of fever which interrupted his academic course, and he remained, as a convalescent, for several months at his father's house in Stuttgart, eighteen miles distant. He passed this time especially in acquainting himself with botany, as well as recreating his mind with his "beloved Greek tragedies." There is no evidence of his having studied logic at the university, though, when only twelve or fourteen years of age, he had gained some knowledge of the logical system of Wolf. He found much satisfaction in the old Hebrew literature, and particularly in the book of Job, the peculiar characteristics of which, both as to form and contents, he admired. In general, however, his theological training was anything but a source of delight to himself.

He received the degree of Master of Philosophy in the autumn of 1790, on which occasion the subject of his dissertation was, *De limite officiorum humanorum, seposita animorum immortalitate*. This treatise shows, according to Rosenkranz, at once an acquaintance with the philosophy of Kant, a conflict therewith, and an attempt to surmount its dualism. From this time onward, until the end of Hegel's university life, we find an ample enumeration of themes, theses, and dissertations on philosophy and religion—all redolent of the rationalizing tendency of reformed theology—needless to be remembered save by admiring disciples, and to them, even, of little discernible value.

Outside of the immediate circle of his literary and scientific studies, Hegel had now but few accomplishments. He sometimes rode, but always badly. The same was true of fencing, which he began with his intimate friend, Fink, but soon after abandoned. He was very negligent of his dress, and hence, though not unsocially inclined, he did not prosper in his relations with the ladies. Occasionally, he manifested a convivial faculty by drinking stoutly, especially during the second year of his university life. He had, in truth, a clumsy and somewhat morose exterior, appearing older than he really was, and bore the nickname,

among his fellow-students, of "Old Man" (*alter.*). Yet his downright honesty and covert joviality endeared him, not only to his more immediate comrades, but to all the students in the city.

Two of his most esteemed friends at the university were Hölderlin and Schelling—the former a Swabian, of like age as himself, and also sharing his devotion for the Grecian—afterwards a writer of romance, and other works not much remembered in these days, abroad or at home. Schelling, a Swabian, too, born at the little village of Teoberg, eight miles from Stuttgart, first entered Hegel's circle in the autumn of 1790—"præcox ingenium"—was the son of a country parson. With apparent satisfaction, as the disciple of Hegel, Rosenkranz records that Schelling's knowledge of Hebrew was the principal cause of his high standing in his class, Hegel, five years the senior of his subsequent rival, being already master of philosophy when the former came to Tübingen.

There was one element of sympathy which formed a strong bond between Hegel and his fellows at the university. He had left the gymnasium near the time of the outbreak of the French Revolution. Already, while there, he had read Rousseau, and become a sharer of his democratic ideas, resulting in frequent disputes with his father, a clerk or other subordinate officer of the exchequer of Stuttgart, who earnestly maintained aristocratic principles. Our student of theology was an enthusiastic disciple, also, of the "liberty, equality, fraternity" school, and his brain was filled, as were those of so many others, old and young, with the ardent notions then radiating from Paris. "With constant enthusiasm, with purest heart," says Rosenkranz, "the noblest Germans turned to view the truly philosophical drama, there enacting. A Klopstock and a Schiller, a Kant and a Forster, a Baggesen and a Schlabrendorf, a Merk and a Jacobi, indulged themselves in glowing expectations of a social regeneration of Europe." How much more, then, was a university scholar, in the first ardor of youth, exposed to the contagion! One Sunday morning Hegel and Schelling, with some friends besides, formally erected and consecrated

a liberty-tree in a meadow not far from the city of Tübingen. A political club was formed in the college, to which Hegel belonged, and a reading-room established which was supplied with French and other newspapers of the sanguine sort. A conservative apothecary complained of this disloyal association. "Duke Carl himself came to Tübingen to investigate the matter, but was prudent enough to make nothing of it." He chose rather to give free course to this mere "poesy of cosmopolitanism," as Hegel's biographer styles this effervescence, "which had already found vent in Schiller."

To all the other excitements of the time, vexing the quiet of our young theologian's Swabian mind, was a transient but none the less ardent attachment to a Mademoiselle Auguste, daughter of a deceased Tübingen, professor of theology, named Hegelmeier. She was now reduced, alas! to the necessity of doing service in the shop of a baker and wine-seller. Being "very beautiful, her mouth especially charming," she was somewhat coquettish withal, and, for a time, fairly imperilled a dispersion of all the ideas of dogmatics and exegesis which Professors Platt and Stow had so laboriously lodged in his head. But he was not the youth to captivate coquettish young maidens with "specially charming" features of any sort, and his Swabian passion subsided in no long time, and in no very memorable manner. Auguste survived the ungainly theologian for several years, and died the wife of a Vice-Chancellor at Mannheim.

Soon after the close of his theological studies at Tübingen, in 1793, Hegel became a tutor in the family of a gentleman of Bern, in Switzerland. He appears to have gone thither with no heavy heart from disappointed love or otherwise, having first passed a week at Stuttgart, from whence, as his friend Staüdlin afterward reminds him, they together made "frequent excursions to Kannstadt, there mingling the enjoyment of wine with jest and laughter." His three years in Switzerland were uneventful enough in outward circumstance. In May, 1795, he made a pilgrimage to Geneva. In the following year, with several friends, he made an excursion on foot among the Bernese Upper-Alps, eagerly observing the variety of natural forms and appearances among those

mountain solitudes and in the visible world around. To him, we are told, the rocks and ice seemed only dreary and dead, without any stimulus to the fancy, or incitement to the feelings. On the contrary, the water, with its playful movements, "delighted him to ecstasy." He even ventured an artistic description of the noted Fall of Reichenbach, which his biographer has praised but not published.

Aside from these two little excursions, he passed his Swiss epoch almost exclusively in the even quietude of scholarly life. To him as a student, not yet settled in his course or calling—scarcely, even in his religious or intellectual faith—this period, extending beyond the close of his twenty-sixth year, was far from barren or idle. He had left behind him the masters and maxims of the theological schools, and could now look upon them and their results from a point without the immediate circle of their influence. What the years at Tübingen could do towards making him a churchman and theologian had been accomplished. He now sat down to review their work. Already, he had actually "preached"—how often or successfully need not be too closely enquired. Two of his "texts" must at present suffice to gratify the reader's curiosity, if any he may have, in this particular. In January, 1792, he delivered a sermon based upon these words: "For your shame ye shall have double; and for confusion they shall rejoice in their portion; therefore in their land they shall possess the double: everlasting joy shall be unto them. For I, the Lord, love judgment, I hate robbery for burnt-offering; and I will direct their work in truth, and I will make an everlasting covenant with them."—Isaiah, 61: 7, 8. And on the second Sunday after Trinity, in 1793, he spoke from the first sixteen verses of the fifth chapter of Matthew, including "the beatitudes," and four subsequent verses of the Sermon on the Mount.

It is worthy of notice, that while returning on his ecclesiastic tour and tendency of thought—which, in fact, adhered to him in some degree through life—he came to entertain greatly changed opinions during this brief abode at Berne, on matters strictly theological. He now, as Rosenkranz unhesitatingly says, "emancipated himself from the dead

theology of Tübingen." He began to accuse the age of false worship, and put himself at variance, "not, indeed, with the historical Christ, but surely with historical Christianity," almost contemptuously speaking of a certain "fantasy of Christianity," and "contrasting the legends of same with the Greek mythos," in express terms. He formed a scheme of Jewish history, from this point of view, as would seem, although his notions on the subject varied much at different times. In fact, it "troubled him as a dark enigma all his life time." Through many theological entanglements—combined resultants of his Tübingen studies and his own independent investigations—concerning "guilt and punishment, law and destiny, sin and pardon," here at Berne, "half unconsciously burst forth the philosophical genius of Hegel." He wrote a critical comparison of the character of Christ and Socrates, and again a life of Christ. This was nearly twenty years after the publication of the famous "Wolfenbüttele Fragments," and still longer subsequent to the date of Klopstock's "Messiah." Hegel was, indeed, busy, in these years of his Swiss sojourn, with theology still, but coming into settled contempt for philological, literal, materialistic exegesis, and manifesting active tendencies towards neology.

In addition to theology, he embraced in his studies of this period a wide range of historical investigation. He manifested ardent longings towards all kinds of moral and intellectual exploration. Yet Kant, of all German authors, influenced him most, and to him it was perhaps due that Hegel's mind was chiefly turned into the channel of abstruse philosophy. He both spoke and wrote the French language, while in Switzerland, and it is also noticeable that the French author for whom he showed the most marked predilection was Benjamin Constant. It is evident, however, that Fichte became his real master, the leading spirit, the *primum mobile* of his life-work in the sphere of philosophy.

Of his relations with Schelling, in this point of view, we shall have occasion to speak hereafter. At present, reference need only be made to his correspondence with that youthful friend, while at Berne, both as showing the course to which his mind was inclining, and the reciprocal influence of each

on the other. This correspondence—the most unreserved and genial, if not, in fact, the most frequent and unaffected of all that ever passed between them—extended through the two years, from 1794 to 1796, and almost exclusively related to philosophical study. They have much to say of Kant and Fichte; and Hegel dwells with some minuteness on his deliberate and laborious attempts at mastering the latter. “From the system of Kant and its highest completion,” he writes to Schelling: “I expect a revolution in Germany.” And, in fact, it was to this “highest completion,” begun by Fichte, that both these students were to devote their lives. “Reason and freedom,” Hegel elsewhere says, “remain our watchword, and the *invisible church* our centre of union”—thus seemingly eliminating ecclesiasticism and the visible church; while he scruples not to rejoice at the progress of Kantism at Tübingen, and expresses his conviction that the much desired overthrow of “Orthodoxy” cannot happen, “so long as the profession of it is intimately connected with worldly advantage.” Clearly, all hope of such a scoffer becoming a minister of the Established Church is at an end. These philosophers will aim rather to set up a new kingdom of ideas, revolutionizing both church and state by the quiet promulgation of their spiritual speculations.

One of his correspondents at this time was Holderlin, a university friend, who frequently wrote him from Jena, and of whom Hegel says, (addressing Schelling,) that he “is altogether enraptured with Fichte.” Not only did this friend keep alive and stimulate his devotion to the works of that philosopher, the mastery of which evidently cost him much severe and persevering effort, but it was to the kind intervention of Holderlin also, that he owed, in the latter part of the year 1796, the opportunity of securing a situation as private tutor at Frankfort-on-the-Main. He removed thither about New Year’s, 1797, remaining there until the close of the year 1800. Thus, as Rosenkranz delights to record, the cradle of Goethe’s poetry was the birthplace of Hegel’s philosophy. At the gymnasium his mind had devoured all sorts of reading without a clearly marked preference for any department of learning. At Tübingen, under the French

contagion for universal liberty, he was conspicuous as a devotee of republicanism. In Switzerland he was more exclusively a theologian and student of history, and at Frankfort he finally consecrated his life solely to that speculative impulse and faculty, which, already awakened under the study of Fichte at Berne, had now become strongly predominant in his mind. On the practical side, here and ever after, he chiefly inclined to political affairs. His appreciation of music was fine, and some poetical proclivities occasionally appear at this period. The specimens of his verse that are preserved, however, inspire little craving for more, though of course not wholly without merit.

Without here attempting any statement of his philosophical opinions, as they were unfolding in this their immature stage, it is enough to say that they were confessedly marked by a strong Platonic tendency, without as yet a trace of Aristotelian influence. At Frankfort he appears to have chiefly studied Plato and Sextus Empiricus. His development of a system was altogether gradual, lacking the remarkably rapid evolution which characterized his younger friend, Schelling, of whose writings he was now an eager student.

Hegel's father died in January, 1799, leaving him a small property. It was not until the next year, however, that the now rising philosopher removed to Jena. This place his biographer designates as "the philosophical El Dorado of that time." Fichte, having withdrawn from the university, in which he was a professor, on account of the charge of atheism, had gone to Berlin. Novalis and Tieck had recently died (in 1800). Schelling, who had been installed there as extraordinary professor, was now no longer the special wonder he had been, for the novelty, at least, was gone from his fluent and classic discourse. But young men flocked to Jena from all quarters, with longings to pursue a course of philosophy. Manifestly, philosophy was a superabundant element in the teachings of the university at this time. There was an extraordinary ambition, we are told, to be named professor, and a remarkable zeal for founding new periodicals. Such was the state of affairs when Hegel, in January, 1801, joined the fermenting crowd.

In the winter of 1801 he lectured on logic and metaphysics from three to four o'clock in the afternoon, to eleven auditors. The same subjects were announced for the winter of 1802, and a year later his course brought out his system of speculative philosophy in three parts: 1, Logic and Metaphysics, or Transcendental Idealism; 2, Philosophy of Nature; 3, Philosophy of Mind. In the winter of 1804 he repeated the same course, his auditors numbering as high as thirty, and afterward varying from twenty to thirty. He first lectured on the History of Philosophy in the winter of 1805. He also lectured, during the same season, on Real Philosophy (nature and mind), and finally, for the first and last time, on Pure Mathematics. In the summer of 1805 he lectured on Natural Rights. In the summer of 1806 he repeated on Speculative Philosophy, adding Phenomenology and Logic, for the first time. The whole was repeated the following winter, and it is mentioned, as a curiosity, that among his auditors was a Greek from Constantinople.

It is conceded by Rosenkranz that Hegel considered himself as essentially agreeing with Schelling, at this time, and the latter is said to have had the same opinion concerning Hegel. They united in publishing the "Critical Journal of Philosophy" in 1802-3. In his contributions to this work Hegel, according to his biographer, manifested a nervous wit, appearing "now as *naïve* irony, now as cutting satire, and now as absolute humor in manifold turns (*wendungen*), with inexhaustibleness of new and striking images."

Hegel's first enunciation of his system, in the ruggedness of its primitive conception, and in the academic form he had given it in his lectures, did not satisfy him, after a few years of lecturing experience. He set himself about the work of modifying the expression given to his philosophy, so as to popularize its presentation, which now assumed the following outlines: 1, Logic, or Science, of the Idea as such; 2, Natural Philosophy, or realization of the Idea, giving itself a body in Nature; 3, Moral Nature as Real Spirit; 4, Religion, the resumption of the All in One—the return to the first simplicity of the Idea. He also changed his terminology, earnestly striving after greater precision and clearness. It

is also noticeable that he employed Grecian mythological representations to aid his expression and to give it beauty.

Right here, let us say that from his enemies who perversely represent him as studying to make his work obscure and hard to understand, Hegel has suffered less than from affected friends who have laboriously interpreted him in the unintelligible. This is an "open secret" that may well excite the world's marvel. It is only the other day that we waded through page after page of a fresh expounder of Hegel, wherein was scarcely a sentence that was not untrue or unintelligible, and from all of which not the remotest gleam of Hegel's philosophy could be attained. Sir William Hamilton had much to answer for in his day for having given currency to the notion that whoever fancied himself to derive any meaning from the language of Hegel was a mere superficial tyro, and for setting ambitious explorers to delving for hidden meanings, when, in fact, all lies open and palpable before every vision that has any aptitude for philosophical study. We have a traditional recollection, which we cannot at this moment verify by reference to volume and page, of an alleged assertion by Sir William Hamilton, that Hegel having on one occasion delivered himself of certain profound propositions, was startled to find himself clearly understood by his hearers, and straightway set about wrapping up his thoughts anew in studied language of more than Delphic mystery! This is exactly reversing the German philosopher's uniform aims, as we have intimated above, on the authority of Rosenkranz, one of his devoted disciples. We find the following equally misguiding statement in one of the collections of Sir William Hamilton's miscellaneous papers: "I have never, in fact, met with a Hegelian (and I have known several of distinguished talent, both German and British), who could answer three questions without being driven to the confession that they did not, as yet, fully comprehend the doctrine of their master, though *believing* it to be all true.

* * Hegel himself, not long before his death, made the following declaration: 'I am downcast about my philosophy. For, of all my disciples, one only understands it, and he does not.' The one disciple, I presume, was Gabler; but

did Hegel understand himself?"* This is said by one who has passed with this generation for a profound metaphysician, who nevertheless declares, almost in the same breath, that the Hegelian "idea" is only a "myth." It is of course quite in vain for any man who has not a firm faith in "ideas," as well as in understanding of the sense in which the term is used by Hegel, to attempt to comprehend his philosophy. But we do not hesitate to say that to any one who is able to take this first step in all genuine philosophy, every sentence and every page is as clear and intelligible as the writings of the most perspicuous author in treating of any serious subject of contemplation whatever—Sir William Hamilton himself by no means excepted. It is impossible, of course, for any one who has never mastered arithmetic to have a clear understanding of algebra and geometry, and much less to become proficient in conic sections and the calculus.

Schelling's philosophy of nature had, at the period we have reached in Hegel's career, begun to have currency and prominence in philosophical literature. Hegel now felt constrained, according to Rosenkranz, to wage a "very decisive polemic against the degeneracy of this philosophy." From this time the lines were closely drawn between the systems of these two philosophic friends, hitherto apparently so closely united. Both had found a common impulse and inspiration from Fichte, who, in turn, had advanced Kantism another stage or two towards its ultimate results. Hegel attributed to Schelling's teachings the qualities of mysticism, Orientalism, and Böhmissm, and condemned and exposed it as incompetent to arrive at any substantial product. Startling as the proposition may appear to a believer in Hamilton, he proclaimed for the CLEAR and the FIXED. He opposed the construction of philosophical terminology from Greek and Latin words, boldly claiming that it befits the highest cultivation of a people "to speak all things in their own language." While thus objecting to Schelling's terminology, it was admitted that he had expressed good sense and philo-

* Discussions on Philosophy and Literature, Harper's edition, p. 711, note.

sophical thought in these forms, but only because he had shown himself really free in their use, having, in almost every successive enunciation, employed a new terminology, though to the astonishment of the unknowing multitude. He exhibited some of Schelling's affectations, such as correlating length to magnetism, breadth to electricity, and saying, instead of *stout, corporeal*, "it belongs to the *third dimension* ; in place of *sharp*, "it is the pole of concentration ;" and for the *fish is too long*, "it stands under the scheme of magnetism." Hegel sounded the key-note of criticism on all modern philosophy, when, objecting to Fichte's "Wissenschaftlehre" and Schelling's Transcendentalism as being speculative philosophy *purely for itself*, he added: "Fichte, as is well known, proceeded from the great, but one-sided, standpoint of the *consciousness*, the Me, the Subject, and this has made for him a free working-out of results (*ausfuhrung*) impossible." And he applied a similar test to Schelling.

Hegel and Schelling were three years and a-half together at Jena, from the beginning of 1801 to the summer of 1803. The Critical Journal of Philosophy was discontinued at the beginning of the last-named year, and before its close, Schelling entered the service of Bavaria, removing to Wurzburg. Impelled, perhaps, by the comparative loneliness in which he was left in regard to speculative matters, by Schelling's departure, Hegel now began to keep a "waste-book," in which he set down reflections of all sorts, extracts from works of philosophy and natural history, and notes of physico-scientific experiments made by himself. These latter related chiefly to Goethe's theory of colors. His philosophical extracts were mostly from German writers, now hardly remembered, and those on physical science related to all departments of nature, great and small, and were gathered from English and French as well as German books. He added occasional comments on these excerpts, and made many notes relating to the methods of philosophy and the "universal fermentation" of the time. There were also studies of Homer and the tragedies. These fragments should not be dismissed without referring to his biographer's statement that they furnish evidence of a patriotic struggle in Hegel's mind, which chafed

over the political mishaps of Germany—now gushing forth in warm sympathy, and now in pungent irony—but “mostly expressed itself in a sad sarcastic tone. All emotions of the time vibrated in him.”

When he came to lecture on the history of philosophy, in the winter of 1805-6, he became conscious of a unity, a progressive coherence and connection, in all philosophies. It was now, for the first time, that he came to regard universal history, we are told, from the standpoint of absolute knowing, and to see himself in a historical relation to preceeding philosophers. At the conclusion of this course of lectures, he spoke of the then present time in words which became famous and were often quoted as a motto: “There has commenced a new epoch in the world. The world-spirit seems at last to have succeeded in casting aside all foreign and opposing things, and comprehending itself as absolute spirits, to generate from itself what is opposite, and tranquility to hold the same in its power.” It is easy to call this nonsense, or unintelligible nothing, but not so easy to grasp its meaning and then demolish as unsound the foundation on which it rests. The former will suffice for those who, having no inclination for philosophy, are wont to sneer at whatever they choose to term “metaphysics.” The latter undertaking would properly have no place here, did our convictions lead us that way. This brings us to the threshold of what is distinctive in Hegel’s philosophy, of which it would be simply absurd to attempt an exposition or synopsis in a brief essay like the present. It should be said in passing, however, for the benefit of those who are ready to silence the philosopher at the outset with the cry of pantheism, that he uses the term “world-spirit,” not as synonymous with God, but as meaning no more nor less than humanity—mankind, the human race—in its totality. In another passage, Hegel himself has thus paraphrased part of the more concise expression quoted above:

“We live in a momentous epoch, a period of fermentation, in which the spirit (of man) has taken a start (*einen ruck gethan*), has come out of its former state and gained a new one. The entire mass of previous forms, notions—the volume of the world—are loosened and fall

together, like images of a dream. A new march of the spirit onward is beginning. Philosophy has especially to hail its appearance and to reorganize it, whatever else, powerlessly opposing it, may cling to the past, while the most are listless spectators of its appearing."

It was now that Hegel launched out upon what he termed his "voyage of discovery"—an exploration, we may say, through the abysses of reflection, resulting in his "Phenomenology of Spirit," an idel history of consciousness. The working out of this essential basis of his independent system occupied his attention during the years from 1804 to 1806. We give the three chief divisions of this profound and elaborate treatise—a work to be mastered only by careful and protracted study, as it is true of all higher science and of every intellectual acquirement really valuable—namely: 1, Consciousness; 2, Spirit; and 3, Absolute knowing, as self-consciousness of absolute spirit. It was merely introductory to the main system—the "Philosophy of the Absolute." This was the last of Hegel's lecture seasons at Jena—terminating on the 18th of September, 1806.

Rosenkranz affirms that on the students, as a mass, our philosopher had no influence at all. But he had a small circle of admirers and adherents whose enthusiasm was aroused in an extraordinary degree, especially during the last years of Hegel's abode at Jena. In general, his peculiar style of philosophical speculation was looked upon with little favor at this time, some regarding it as not only practically useless, but also as morally dangerous. "The much-named, much-beloved Absolute," says his biographer, "was now certainly, for the majority, something very dark and chaotic—something they rather wondered at than in fact understood." "That Hegel took snuff was sufficiently seen in his lectures; but the great question was now raised whether he also smoked; and this they likewise proved on him, as he was once in company with Niethammer, and went into the kitchen to light a clay pipe." His lectures were read by candle-light in an auditorium of a rear building.

In these days he had many friends among natural philosophers, and pursued the study of natural science with zeal. He heard the lectures of Neckermann on Philosophy, potan-

ized with Schelver, experimented on Chemistry with his friend and countryman Seebeck, enlarged his knowledge of Medicine with Kastner, who specially loved him, and made a geological excursion in the Hartz mountains. In 1804, he was unanimously chosen Assessor of the Jena Mineralogical Society and a member of the Westphalian Society of Natural History at Brockhausen. He wrote to Schelling, November 16, 1803: "The Weimar theatre has as yet presented nothing new. Schiller is said to be writing *William Tell*." How Hegel was regarded by Goethe and Schiller is indicated by their correspondence. They recognized the depth of his speculations, but Goethe especially, to whom such studies were always foreign, regarded his modes of expression as too obscure and unintelligible. With the Schlegels, our philosopher had no intimate relations. It is said that about the year 1804, he was very near becoming, as Frederick Schlegel actually did, a convert to the Roman Catholic faith.

With his Swabian countrymen, he lived on excellent terms. When Paulus published his edition of Spinoza, the French translation was revised for him by Hegel.

Napoleonic war raged in Prussia in 1806, and it has been often enough said that Hegel completed his "*Phenomenology of Spirit*" to the music of the cannon of the battle of Jena. This is literally so far true that the last sheet of his treatise was sent to the printer, in order to comply with the exact terms of the contract, just when the attack on the city commenced. Its composition certainly had other inspiration than the thunders of Napoleon, yet the completion might well have been associated, by an enthusiastic disciple (it was Gans in his obituary, who first spoke of it,) with the stirring martial events then culminating at Jena. In a letter to his friend Niethammer, dated Monday the 13th of October, 1806, the day on which the French took possession of Jena, and the Emperor Napoleon entered within its walls, Hegel said: "The Emperor—this mundane soul [*Weltseele*—I saw riding out through the city on a reconnoissance. It is, in fact, a wonderful sensation to see such an individual, who, from one central point, sitting on a horse, grasps at the world and dominates over it."

In returning after a brief experience from the sphere of journalism, Hegel consented to become simply the rector of a gymnasium. As the "mundane soul" (Napoleon) restrained all free development in German universities, from their supposed dangerous tendencies, we are told that the gymnasium, which lacked this energetic supervision, now afforded the most promising theatre for earnest educational work. Besides, our philosopher was very much at home in the capacity of high school teacher, having shown a pedagogic tendency even in his boyish years, and served as a tutor in Switzerland, as we have before seen. Of his experience as a teacher at Nuremburg, during the several years following, we must not here delay long enough to speak.

We have hitherto contemplated Hegel only in a state of celibacy, to which the philosophers of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries were generally inclined, as Rosenkranz suggests, citing the examples of Bruno, Campanella, Des Cartes, Spinoza, Malebranche, Leibnitz, Wolf, Locke, Hume and Kant—Fichte being, in fact, the first celebrated philosopher who married. Schelling, Herbart, Wagner, and others followed his example. Hegel appeared to have nearly become a confirmed bachelor, much to the grief of his sister. Her joy was very great, therefore, when she heard of his intended marriage, which actually took place in 1811, when he had reached the mature age of forty-one. The biographer himself waxes eloquent on the subject :

"Hegel, the philosopher, who had become skilled in the science of all the past of our race, married into a wide-branching family which was rich in historic memories. Hegel, the simple commoner, married a patrician, a noble lady. Hegel, the critic, the hero of ideas, married a woman whose inner life was so tender, so ethereal, so full of restless mobility and of the play of fancy. But even this difference was balanced in the deep harmony of the consorted pair ; or rather, their marriage was the constantly self-renewing equalization of these elements. He found in her, and she always in him, what they needed for the completing, the mutually renewing reciprocal action. It was Marie Von Tucker, of one of the oldest and most renowned families of Nuremburg, whose beauty, rare cultivation, and amiability enchained our rector with her everlasting bonds. This love raised such a glow and depth of emotion that, becoming a youth again, he on the 13th of April, 1811, addressed to Marie" a series of verses not translatable.

here. "And as he had gained her sure promise, he 'stormed' on the 17th of April, 1811, in jubilating strains," which need not now be reproduced in halting English. "The reverence which Hegel felt before marriage, and the delight which he found in it, were religious in the strongest sense of the word." "A wedded life of twenty years crowned the attachment of these lovers with the most happy experience. The marriage was celebrated on the 16th of September, 1811."

Here he took a step in advance of his "Phenomenology," by the development of his "Logic," during the years 1812-16. His opinion of the importance of his philosophical studies, as well as of the true character of philosophy itself, is seen in the comparison, which he made at this time, of a cultivated people without metaphysics, to a highly adorned temple without a holy of holies.

On the 19th of October, 1816, he removed to Heidelberg, and resumed the work of lecturing on philosophy. It was here that he first brought out his entire system, as enunciated in his "Encyclopædia," for the use of his auditors. It embraced the whole course, delivered during the period from Michaelmas, 1816, to Easter, 1817. The first edition of this work bears date, May, 1817. He also undertook the editorship of the philosophical and philological division of the Heidelberg *Jahrbuchern für Literatur*. Among the articles which he contributed thereto was a review, in the first and second number for 1817, of the third volume of the collected works of Jacobi, which appeared in 1816. In the year 1802, he had passed a strong censure on the philosophy of Jacobi, but had taken no part in the controversy between the latter and Schelling. He did not now retract anything he had said in his former review, but he treated, with mildness the points in which he differed with Jacobi, and gave prominence to the relation of substance and subject, necessity and freedom, as the real problem. With great resoluteness, and in language entirely clear, according to Rosenkranz, he expressed himself on the side of personality, freedom and immortality. He declared that God is not a dead, but a living God; more than living, he is himself spirit and eternal life; as such his being cannot be abstract; but has the attributes of life, consciousness, personality and absolute knowing.

Among Hegel's friends in Heidelberg was Eschaurmayer,

brother of the person of that name who later became so zealous an opponent of the Hegelian philosophy. His friendships there, however, must have been few, and hardly worthy to be called genuine, much less cordial. In a letter to his wife, he wrote: "It is a saying in Heidelberg,—'Each one for himself, and God for us all.'"¹ He was now more than ever given to deep and absorbing meditation, sometimes to such a degree as in Socratic abstraction, to lose sight of external things altogether. It is related of him, that one day, after a shower of rain, he crossed the public square toward the university, and left one of his shoes in the mud, without noticing the deficiency in his costume. From the beginning of the year 1818, it was becoming evident to him that he was only a sojourner in Heidelberg. The sands of Berlin, he came to think, afforded a more susceptible soil for philosophy than the romantic surroundings of Heidelberg.

At Berlin, accordingly, we find him opening a course of lectures, on the 22d of October, 1818. His fame had so grown that, early in the year, Minister Altenstein had corresponded with him in regard to renewing the professorship of philosophy in the university, which had formerly been held by Fichte, and the proffer of that chair, had been accepted. He now had an opportunity such as he must long have coveted, without any conscious and definite aspiration. He was here in a peculiarly philosophic atmosphere, while his direct relation to the state was another circumstance that gave his position importance, and influenced all his subsequent career. He at once introduced his own system as the philosophy of the University of Berlin. The Germans, in his view, were the chosen people of God in philosophy, and he was now the duly anointed head, and installed in the chief seat.

Prussia had been pre-eminently the home of the later German philosophy. Kant had been its founder. It had been enlarged by Fichte, whose successor at Berlin, Hegel, has been called its finisher. The latter, looking out from his eminence upon the intellectual world, indulged now the loftiest hopes and aspirations—less, we may believe, for himself, than for humanity, of which he felt that he was the chosen leader. Philosophy, he said plainly, "has taken refuge with

the Germans, and lives at length among them alone. To us is entrusted this sacred light, and we are called to keep, to nourish, and to watch over it, so that the highest possession which man can have, the self-consciousness of his being, shall not become dim and expire." "Whatever in life is true, great, and God-like, is such through *ideas*: the aim of philosophy is to comprehend these in their true form and universality."

His first prominent literary work at Berlin was an attempt to elaborate his philosophy of justice and of the state. This was first in the book-market in 1821, but the preface was finished on the 25th of June, 1823. On these subjects he leaned to the conservative side, opposing all demagoguism and especially the current "fanatically" liberal notions of liberty, equality, and fraternity; and favoring monarchy, with popular representation in two chambers, one being composed of hereditary and privileged nobles, as in England.

There could hardly be two men more utterly unlike than Goethe and Hegel, yet they retained for each other the mutual respect conceived years before. Hegel took great interest in the poet's theory of colors, and wrote in its defence. The unity of Hegel's speculation and Goethe's poetry was a formal dogma of the philosopher's disciples. The near coincidence of the birthdays of these two great men, on the other hand, we are told, gave their alleged spiritual relationship a mystical glow [*schimmer*], and afforded the poetical comrades of the Weimar-Berlin circle many felicitous materials for rhymed encomiums.

Rosenkranz affirms that in extending the essence of his political philosophy into religious matters, Hegel brought upon himself infinitely more hatred, censure, denunciation, and bitterness than by his work on *Justice and the State*. From this time onward, the theologians condemned him as a pantheist. His disciple, Heinrichs, furnished the occasion for this outbreak, for, having asked him to write a commendatory preface to his (Heinrich's) book "*On Religion in its Inner Relations to Science*," Hegel, after an extended correspondence, did so in April, 1822. He made this a vigorous polemic against "*Theology of the Feelings*" in general. He

carried out this attack in detail, as against the views and teachings of Schleiermacher, who then enjoyed great popularity in Berlin. He declared that Schleiermacher's fundamental propositions had no positive character. "Not revelation as an actual fact; not the doctrine of the church as a symbol; not the Bible as primitive sacred tradition; not the Spirit in the necessity and universality of its essence; but the *empirical subject* was raised to a principle." It was Schleiermacher's peculiarity, in part, that he freed himself from the outwardly historic, in which he was, in truth, internally in accord with Hegel. The former regarded thinking as only an instrument to bring his feeling into order, while Hegel held that thinking was the principle of all science, theology included. He gave great offence by the strength of some of the expressions used in combatting Schleiermacher. The latter had based his religion on the *feelings of dependence*. This feeling Hegel pronounced to be "purely animal"—sarcastically adding that, in so far as the absolute feeling of dependence was the essence of Christianity, *the dog was the best Christian*. This brought a storm about his ears, and was never forgiven by the friends and followers of Schleiermacher, whose influence the phrase has survived.

We pass hastily over what Rosenkranz tells us of the philosopher's relations to art and æsthetics in Berlin. When he went to that city he had completed "the *hervic* work of his life," and this brought a greater earnestness into "an æsthetic Epicureanism." A "positive Hegelianizing art-criticism arose." The art riches of Berlin—its art galleries of all kinds—aroused his love of art in the highest degree. "He became passionately fond of music; for painting he had an innate perception; in poetry he was, above all, at home; and for architecture and sculpture, he had the cleverest susceptibility, which he constantly endeavored to cultivate." "He has, in his *Æsthetics*, elaborated the most solid judgments upon almost all the more important artists and works of art." "The æsthetic interest was at that time the only public one in Berlin. A political one did not exist."

Hegel's position seems now to have been a peculiarly happy one. He moved in a genial society, and appears to

have been quite sufficiently lionized, though not disagreeably so. He was a favorite with Berlin ladies. His conversation was without pedantry. His table-talk was chiefly of art, so that every one present might take part therein; his vocal organs were unfavorable for fluency of speech; and his expression was neither smooth nor elegant. He never quite got rid of his Swabian dialect. In talking, he constantly gesticulated with his hands and arms. He had great force of passionate rage and fury, and when he once felt constrained to hate, he did so as thoroughly as old Dr. Johnson could have wished. He was also fearful [*furchterlich*] in scolding. He had a certain egotistic restlessness, a bustling opposition at times, an obstinacy—a *tyranny*, as the Berliners used to name it. This was the darker side of his social relations, not to be overlooked in the briefest view.

He travelled with his family, in 1819, on the island of Rugen. In 1820, with his family and with Foster, he visited Dresden and Saxon Switzerland. In 1822, he went to the Netherlands; in 1824, to Vienna; in 1826, to Paris; and in 1829, through Weimar and Jena to Carlsbad and Prague. This tour through Bohemia was the last grand journey which he ever made, and was memorable for his visit to Goëthe, then eighty years old, and for his unexpected meeting with Schelling, as he stopped for a day at Carlsbad. To his correspondents, he wrote pleasantly of the five days he had spent with Schelling, in old, cordial friendship. He had also met with Victor Cousin, in his visit to Paris in 1826. Throughout his youth, as we have partly indicated, Hegel had a warm sympathy with the French nation. In turn, Cousin had become interested in the great German philosopher, and sympathized with him in the struggle over the hegemony in philosophy between him and Schelling. The French philosopher ("of the Scotch school," as Rosenkranz classifies him) made a tour through Germany in 1817-18, as travelling companion for a son of the Duke of Montebello, and stayed several weeks at Heidelberg, eagerly conversing with Hegel. Thus a friendly relation was established between them, which continued through Hegel's life. Cousin dedicated the fourth part of his edi-

tion of Proclus, in 1821, to Hegel and Schelling, as "*Amicis et magistris, philosophis presentibus ducibus.*" In 1826, he dedicated to Hegel his translation of Plato's *Gorgias*. Two years previously, while on a tour in Germany, Cousin had spent some time in Berlin, living in the friendliest intercourse—"philosophically most fruitful"—with Hegel and some of his disciples, especially Gans, Hotho, Von Henning, and Michelet. From this time there was continuous correspondence between them, and Hegel's favors were reciprocated by Cousin, when the former visited Paris. This friendly relation, the biographer records, was not destroyed even after the July revolution, and when Cousin had become a peer, and one of the ministry. The latter consulted constantly with Hegel, while preparing his editions of the Greek philosophers, and earnestly hoped, but in vain, for a criticism of his *Fragments Philosophiques* from Hegel, which should make him known in Germany. This wish was fulfilled by Schelling, though not until 1833, in the *Bavarian Annals*. The French philosopher, in his correspondence, speaks in the highest terms of veneration and affection of Hegel's philosophy. In one of his letters, he mentions the circumstances of his first acquaintance with Hegel, and how he said on returning to France: "I have found a man of genius." This was at a time when Hegel had little renown, and generally passed for a disciple of Schelling.

Hegel lectured, for the first time, on the philosophy of history in the winter of 1822-3, and for the fifth and last course in 1830-31. These lectures gained him much popularity with the general public, whose favor he seems to have made it a special study to win. Through these lectures, still more than by those on *Æsthetics* and the *Philosophy of Religion*, we are told, he nurtured an interest in studies of the Orient, and thus supported the poetic strivings of Goëthe, Ruckert, Platen and Hammers, whose Hafiz poetry, whose Arabian lyrics, and other forms of Eastern verse, were adapted to break up the torpidity and sybaritism of the age. He studied Oriental culture with enthusiasm, and especially Indian philosophy and Persian mysticism. Even Tholuck took an interest in these studies, and was not insensible to

the pantheism of the East, and its sublime sacrifice of the Individual to the Universal and Absolute.

"Hegel," says his disciple, "had now imperceptibly come to be a great power in Berlin, and indeed in Prussia. It was the fashion to hear him. Men of all ranks frequented his lectures. Students from all parts of Germany, from all European nations, Poles especially, but also Greeks and Scandinavians, sat at his feet, and listened to his magic words, which he, fumbling among the papers on his desk, coughing, taking snuff, repeating himself, laboriously uttered. The depth of the contents filled the souls of his auditors, and set them a-glow with the purest enthusiasm. That some attended his lectures from motives of mere self-interest, is to be supposed. People saw, as before intimated, in becoming Hegelians, or in the appearance of being such, a means of place-gaining. They hoped to recommend themselves effectively, thereby, not only to Hegel, but also to the counsellors and to the minister himself. But with the majority, the enthusiasm was sincere, and under its influence the Berlin University passed through one of its fairest epochs."

The enthusiastic school of our philosopher had its morbid eruptions of extravagant eulogy, in prose and in verse. Great expectations were indulged, proclaimed, and exaggerated by mutual stimulation. They celebrated in Hegel a new Socrates, then an Alexander of the spirit-world, and then a speculative world-creating Brahma. Some even got so far as to reverence him as a "philosophical redeemer of the world." A grand notion with these disciples seems to have been that they were attaining certainty instead of belief, knowledge in place of opinion. As one of their rhymes expressed it :

"A new day is beginning,
The old surely dies,
And to the grave goes Seining,
And Knowing will arise."

The light of Hegelianism, it was fondly hoped, would speedily illuminate France and all western Europe—which anticipation was but poorly realized, as would appear from the curt allusions of Rosenkranz, in concluding what he says of

the relations of Cousin to Hegel. The birthday eulogiums on Hegel, in 1826, were the culmination of this hitherto growing tendency to render him worship as a demigod. His biographer records the fact with a sigh that "everything in this world has its epoch."

Hegel was concerned in founding a critical journal in 1827, called the "*Berliner Jahrbuch für Kritik*." The State having failed to respond to Hegel's wishes in this regard, Cotta, the famous publisher, undertook its publication. Hegel's co-laborers in this work were Varnaghen Von Ense, Marheineke the theologian, Schultze the physiologist, Boeckh and Bopp, philologists, and Hotho the aesthetic. The general management first undertaken by Gans, and afterwards by Leopold von Henning. Meanwhile, Hegel saw his philosophy and its language gradually extending through Europe. At Paris, Cousin was then in sympathy with him, and he had followers, or at least friends, in Van Ghert and Seher at Brussels; Dr. Kiehl at the Hague; Heiberg at Keil, afterwards at Copenhagen; Tengström, Sandwall, and Lauvell (teaching the Hegelian philosophy in the Swedish language) in Finland; and others. Such an extension opened a grand "perspective in the future" for Hegel's work, yet with the promise also of sharp encounters with adversaries, and to meet these, such an organ as the *Jahrbucher* was needed. Hegel wrote for it in the first year, an article on the Bhagavat-Gita, in review of W. von Humboldt on the Indian Religion. A second contribution was on Solger's posthumous writings and correspondence, and yet another was published in the same year, on Hamanu. One of the most memorable of all his articles for this periodical, was that, written in 1829, on the "Aphorisms on Absolute Knowing and Not-Knowing," a work by Councillor-of-Justice Göschel. This article contains a distinct avowal of faith in Christianity—if there were otherwise, indeed, any doubt as to Hegel's commitment on the subject. About this time he also wrote his "Proof of the Being of God," in which is shown, in an indubitable way, his belief in a personal God. Rosenkranz, however, chooses the word "subject," in place of "person," as applied to the Deity. Hegel's last two crit-

iques, in 1831, were devoted to the elements which were afterward most energetic against his philosophy, to wit, the views of Schelling and those of Herbart.

Hegel became rector of the Berlin University in 1830, the same year in which the July revolution occurred in France, and in which the adoption of the Augsburg Confession was celebrated (June 25) by the German Protestants. In his inaugural oration, Hegel spoke of the *sola fides justificat* of the Confession, as the *Magna Charta* of Protestantism.

The English Reform Bill discussions, in 1831, awakened in him the lively interest in political affairs which he felt in other days. Strange to say—at least had we not seen how, since his Berlin advancement especially, conservative and monarchical tendencies had grown upon him; he leaned strongly to the side of kingly autocracy—he was decidedly opposed to increasing the power of the people by an extension of the elective franchise.

In 1831, the Asiatic cholera made its appearance at Berlin. Hegel's family withdrew from the city to Kreuzberg, to be followed by him as soon as the holidays began. Hence it happened that his birthday (August 27th) was celebrated outside of the city, only a few of his friends joining him on that occasion, in a cheerful repast, and in lively converse, at a pleasure ground near Kreuzberg. It was an entertainment which afforded much enjoyment to all. Hegel's sons sympathized with his quiet and happy emotion. Scarcely had coffee been served, after the champagne, when a fearful thunder-storm arose, which speedily terminated the festivities. As autumn came on he resumed his labors, completing the preparation of a new edition of his "Logic," the preface to which bears date November 7th. He also began his lectures in the city, though the cholera was still prevailing, and spoke with more ardor than usual, "transporting" all who heard him.

We have dwelt thus particularly on the birthday celebration of this year, because it was his last. Never was the news of any death more sudden and unexpected, than that of Hegel. On the anniversary of the death of Leibnitz, November 14, 1831, at the close of day, Hegel expired. On

Sunday, the 13th, at 11 o'clock in the morning, he was attacked by cholera, in its most virulent form, and the fatal termination came at a quarter past five in the evening, on Monday. His family were about him to the last, and his death was easy and calm. On Wednesday, he was buried, and his disciples, Marheineke and Forster, spoke at his grave. His sister, Christine, long years before disappointed in love, and for some time past living apart from him, died by suicide, the following February—a broken-hearted sufferer. Great was the shock to all Germany, and deep the sorrow of all of Hegel's scholars everywhere, on learning that he was no more.

Thus, rapidly and lightly touching upon some of the more prominent points of the philosopher's career in life, and never more than pausing for a moment at the threshold of his philosophy. We have at length seen him laid by the side of Fichte, to rise no more to the work of this world. Gladly would we add to the illustrations of his character, and to the aphorisms and words of his philosophy already given, were it not unreasonably to prolong our article. And beyond this still remains the labor we have not attempted here, of assigning to Hegel his place, in our estimate, among the generations of philosophers, and of weighing the value of his endeavors in the past, or their present and prospective influence. We are no partisans of his—much less are we his indiscriminate worshippers. But we have failed in our purpose, if it does not appear, from what we have written, that Hegel was no mere idle dreamer, wasting his life among abstractions, unintelligible to the world; but a practical, sincere man, writing to be understood, aiming to elevate and educate the race, and exerting a rare power and influence upon cultivated men, as well as enjoying the friendship and esteem of the most eminent men of his time.

ART. VII.—*Monthly Magazines, Weekly Papers, and other Periodicals.*
New York, Philadelphia, Boston, &c. 1868.

VERILY, we Americans are a wonderfully "fast" people, although it is ourselves that say it most. Nowhere else is

old Father Time outstripped as he is with us. Our European rivals deny that we are a modest people; and yet we are constantly performing miracles, while we as constantly maintain that the age of miracles is past—nay sometimes deny that there ever was such an age! If this be not modesty, we should like to know what is. In other countries, neither January nor May, nor any other month, cold or warm, arrives until it is regularly due, as set down in the almanacs; but in our country each arrives at least a fortnight in advance, provided no serious accidents occur. Even in this case there can only be a few exceptions; for though it may still be only autumn on one corner of the street, it is far advanced in winter on another, and Winter though a premature birth, laughs at Autumn, because he, too, did not come into the world before his time!

Everybody knows that an American magazine which does not see the light some weeks in advance must be a dull, slow affair. Thus, while we write this line, towards the middle of December, we see before us a dozen of January magazines, the majority having "records of the month." Even the wonders of the telegraph cannot approach this; no operator that we have ever heard of could send a January telegram, even to his beloved one, in the middle of December.

This, naturally suggests the question, Have we prophets amongst us? Our answer is,—Must we not regard the editor of every one of the monthlies before us, somewhat in that light? But we read that in the olden time, there were, at least, two kinds of prophets, the true and the false. Perhaps it is the same at the present day; if so, in which category shall we place our prophetic confrères?

Before attempting to decide so grave a question, let us take some notice of the circumstances in which they are placed. If the public will only hear those who pretend to have the prophetic gift, what is the honest story teller to do? We are bound to remember that he cannot afford to be out of work more than the industrious chambermaid, who, in order to get employment, when in need of it, where "no Catholic need apply," presents herself as an orthodox

Protestant, armed with a copy of King James's Bible, as a voucher for her good faith.

There have been thoughtless, fantastic people at all times, and whenever there is a preponderance of them, they must be allowed, like other majorities, to have things pretty much as they want them, though it is ten to one that it will not be the right way. Honest Dick Steel was not long acting as editor, when he learned that, for a certain class of mortals, even the *semblance* of novelty is the chief attraction. "It is incredible to think," he says, "how empty I have in this time observed some part of the species to be, what mere blanks they are when they first come abroad in the morning; how utterly they are at a stand, until they are set a-going by some paragraph in a newspaper. Such persons are very acceptable to a young author, for *they desire no more in anything but to be new* to be agreeable."^{*}

Neither Addison nor Steele took much pains to satisfy this class, for they frequently issued two Spectators together†—the second being late as well as the first; whereas not one number of that famous work was ever issued before the date marked upon the face of it. The "Tattler," commenced in Ireland, by Steele, and numbering among its contributors Swift, Addison and Parnell, purported to appear on three particular days of the week, but it appeared nearly, if not quite as often, on the intervening days. If it ever appeared

* The Spectator, No. 4.

† Probably some of our readers are aware that our humble selves have been accused of issuing two numbers of the "National Quarterly Review" together. An evening journal of this city that claims to be high authority in literature fancied it made itself very witty in announcing this discovery in its notice of our last September number. Most persons of ordinary intelligence, not to mention critics, are aware that two or more numbers of a periodical constitute a volume, and that a title page, indicating that fact, is given in every second or third number, as the case may be. Every two numbers of our journal make a volume of over 400 pages; accordingly the title page to volume XVII, embracing, as stated, the numbers for June and September, is given in the latter. This is quite sufficient for our sagacious afternoon critic, who, without waiting for a moment to think, proclaims that we issued no number in June, but included the June and September numbers in one issue! Having thus made a statement which thousands could prove to be utterly false, he imagines he has hit on a capital stroke of humor, and one that would overwhelm us, when he suggests that in future "The National Quarterly Review," should be called "The Half-Yearly Review." It is perfectly consistent that the Aristarchus who criticises after this fashion, should be in ecstasies with the magazines published some weeks in advance of their time. Accordingly we have not complained, though well aware that his employers—who are men of intelligence, not prone to misrepresentation—would not hesitate to make the *mauvais honnête*.

in advance we have no record of the fact. And thus we could mention all the most celebrated journals of the old world, and ask the most learned and curious of our readers to point out a single one that thought it derived any virtue from coming into the world in advance of its

It was rather the opinion then that untimely births are not good; that those born before the full period of gestation is completed, are apt to be puny, feeble and short-lived. It is true that formerly too, a certain class of papers issued in December purported to be January or February papers, such as drafts for money on banks which did not contain any money at the time those drafts were drawn, and might possibly be in the same predicament weeks or months later. But even drafts and checks were deemed more valuable when they bore the date of the day and month on which they were issued, than when they bore a fictitious date; and if we are not mistaken this notion is not entirely exploded at the present day. For our own part if we got a check to-day for money due to us we should much rather find it dated, December 12, 1868, than January 1, 1869; and if the drawer told us that the latter date enhanced its value by adding to its "freshness" we confess we should either have some doubts of his honesty, or think he must be more or less affected by the moon.

So far as the thing itself is concerned, is it not nearly as easy to set down a future date as the present date? Thus, supposing we issued this journal to-day, or a week hence, would it not be as cheap for us to print January on the face of it, as December? And if we may use to-day the date, January, 1869, why not the date 1890? Do we know any more about the one than we do about the other? At any rate do we make January work of December work by labeling it "January?" If so a house or a monument erected in 1868, may be dated 1869, or 1890; a hen old enough to endanger one's teeth in the eating may be labelled "spring chicken," &c. But what would be said of the hotel keeper who pretended to send chickens to the table fully cooked before they are hatched? Supposing an epicure enters who

is in a hurry, and addresses "mine host," in the middle of December, "I want something good and nice," and he is told in reply, "We can give you the very best—will you have some January chicken?" If the epicure had any knowledge of physiology, or of the phenomena produced by incubation, is it not likely that he would prefer waiting for the January chicken until January came? The hotel keeper might, indeed, say that the article is "fresh" now, and would be "stale" in January when the full period of incubation was completed; but would this be satisfactory?

The ladies are said to be very silly, because they represent themselves as having come into the world more recently than they really did; but it is natural for them to cling even to the semblance of youth, as long as possible; since a large proportion of them, if not the majority, have to depend chiefly for the influence they exercise among men, on those charms which are effaced by time. Associating increasing years with the gradual loss of their attractions, after they have attained a certain age, it is not at all to be wondered at that they wish to be considered younger than they are. "I should wish to be a beautiful young lady," says *la Bruyère*, "from my thirteenth to my twenty-second year, and after that age to become a man."* This explains the whole affair, and fully justifies the ladies for wishing to be considered younger than they are. But although the ladies have thus good reason to attach much importance to youth and "freshness," who has ever heard of an honest lady that wished to be delivered of her child a month, a week, or even a day before its time? That some women have such wishes is very true; but are they the right kind?—are they such as we wish our wives and daughters to associate with?

But this comparison may be presented in another form. Every corporeal being that has life, as well as woman, must grow old and die; whereas ideas are supposed to be immortal. Surely they must be puny, not to say worthless, ideas that would die, or even grow stale, in a week or two.

* J'ai vu souhaiter d'être fille, et une belle fille, depuis treize ans jusqu'à vingt-deux, et après cet âge de devenir un homme.—*Les Caractères de La Bruyère*, chap. III.

Transitory as woman's charms are, they last longer than this, even under the most unfavorable circumstances. But in the name of common sense, why is a love story, a murder story, or any other story, anything the better for being dated "January," than it would be if dated "December?" What benefit does an historical sketch of the times of Charles I. or Louis XIV. derive from being dated January, more than if it were dated December? Could we not wait another week or two for the information it contains, as patiently as we did the rest of our lives?

But the most absurd and ridiculous attempt of all, is to comment in December on the current events of January. If this is impossible; if after all, no events can be discussed as current in December, but such as are so, does not the fact of labelling those events "January," rather tend to make them "stale" than "fresh?" This has been illustrated but too ludicrously during the late presidential election, when magazines and weekly papers, purporting to have been published after the result was known to the inhabitants of the most obscure hamlet in the United States could only speak of it as if it were still in the womb of the future.

Supposing the most important occurrences take place to-day, in what magazines could they be even alluded to? Surely not in a December one, since that was published more than a month ago—about the middle of November. It would be equally impossible to notice them in a January magazine which was published at least a week ago; so that if a revolution took place this afternoon, at Washington, or Albany, or if an earthquake occurred that destroyed half New York, Boston, or Philadelphia, we might not expect to find one word about it in any earlier magazine than the February number! The most important annual reports, issued in the middle of December, must wait for the same number; if they were issued on the first day of December, the earliest number in which they could be noticed would be that for January; whereas the reports issued in the middle of January, or earlier, have to wait for the criticism of our monthlies until the *March* numbers are "ready."

The truth is, that no work worth printing, as an intellec-

tual production, has ever lost any of its value, or "freshness," for being laid aside a few weeks. It is the most valuable that have been so laid aside in all ages. The Homeric poems were but little known until Pisistratus caused them to be collected and transcribed; they were so old at this time—five hundred years before Christ—that no one could tell when they were written. Yet they were not stale in any sense, nor are they to-day, more than two thousand years later! Does the date alter the value of the works of Dante, Shakspeare, or Milton? if it does, is it not by making the older editions the most valuable? *Paradise Lost* had been rejected by several publishers before the author could get any one to give him even £5 for it. More recently Oliver Goldsmith was unable to procure the most ordinary necessities of life, while his admirable Vicar of Wakefield lay beside him, as if it were waste paper; and it might have lain there for years longer, had Dr. Johnson not gone in person to procure a publisher for it. Gray's *Elegy*, De Foe's *Robinson Crusoe*, Corneille's *Polyeucte*, and many other celebrated works we could mention, were little thought of when "fresh" or "new." If the productions of the intellect that possess any value, do not, like good wine, improve by time, at least they no more suffer from time than gold does. It is only productions that have but a fictitious value, that degenerate in this way.

We hold, however, that our confrères have a perfect right to issue their journals as far in advance as they choose. If it be their good will and pleasure to label the numbers they issue in January, "March," or even "August," we shall have no complaint to make; nor shall we have any fault to find with those kind and obliging critics, who about the same day every month inform their readers so approvingly, that Smith's magazine, for next month, is "now ready." Even when they do so, after having previously given long extracts from the "advanced sheets," with an intimation that all the gems may be had *in extenso*, in a few days, we shall not grumble in the least.

All we ask is, that we be allowed equal liberty ourselves. We are not prophets; nor do we care to be "fast"—except

when on horseback. We have, therefore, never pretended to issue our journal before the time mentioned on the face of it; nor shall we in the future. In our first prospectus we promised to issue the work in March, June, September, and December, respectively, and accordingly there never has been a number of it issued on any other month, earlier or later.

Some have regarded us as slow on this account. There are those who think us "late," because we do not issue our September number in August, our December number in November, &c., &c., although not one of our subscribers or patrons has ever reproached us with being one or the other. The reason is, that both are not merely intelligent; they are persons who think as well as read. Such do not expect journalists, more than other sinners, to perform miracles; they know that if we are slow and late, because we do not pretend to outstrip Time, the editors of the greatest periodicals in the world are slow and late.

Thus, for example, if it be asked which is the ablest and most famous periodical in Europe, the general reply will be "The Edinburgh Review." We cheerfully admit, not only that this is the reputation it has always enjoyed, but that it has eminently deserved it. No periodical anywhere has done more good, yet according to a certain class of our critics, it is "always late," since a number of it has never been published before the month mentioned on the face of it. Sometimes it has been published at the beginning of the month, sometimes in the middle, and sometimes towards the close: nay, there have been occasions when it did not appear until the opening of the following month. Then, indeed, it was admitted to be late, but none pretended that it was a whit the less interesting, or the less valuable on this account.

Incredible though it may appear to the class alluded to, its editors have always claimed the right to delay it a week, two weeks, or three weeks, according as the public interest seemed to warrant them in doing so. Every one acquainted with the history of that celebrated periodical is aware that it has often been delayed two or three weeks for an important debate, a general election, or the ratification of an im-

portant treaty, &c. But it is only necessary to glance at the work as printed at home in order to see what little importance its conductors attach to the difference of a few days, or even weeks, in the time of its publication. In each number of several volumes now before us, which have been published at intervals of years, it is announced at the close of the reading matter, that the number for the ensuing quarter will be issued some time during the first month of that quarter; thus at the close of the January number we read, "No. CXXVII. will be published in April;" at the close of the April number, "No. CXXVIII. will be published in July," &c., &c.

We mention the "Edinburgh," however, only as an example; all the other great periodicals of Europe, including those of Paris, Berlin, Vienna and Florence, pursue the same course. There is not a city of any extent in Europe, or America in which the *Revue des Deux Mondes*, or the *Revue Contemporaine* has not subscribers, but never does either attempt to outstrip time a single day, for the purpose of increasing its "freshness," or diminishing its "staleness."

ART. VIII.—1. *Storia degli antichi popoli italiani.* MICALI, Rome.

2. *Annales de l'Institut de correspondance archeologique de Rome.*

3. *Die Etrusker.* K. O. MÜLLER, Breslau.

4. *Alphabetum veterum Etruscorum.* AMADUZZI, Rome.

5. *Saggio di lingua etrusca e di altre antiche d'Italia.* LANZI, Rome.

6. *On the Antiquities discovered in Etruria.* By C. MULLIGAN, London.

OF all the ancient nations of Italy none appears to have such claims upon our notice as that of the Tuscans. Their celebrity at a time when Rome as yet had no existence, the superiority of their political institutions, their progress in navigation, commerce, and many other arts of civilized life, when the surrounding nations were all enveloped in ignorance and barbarism, are circumstances which even at the

present day, must excite inquiry, and command alike the attention of the historian and the philosopher. Whence this improvement in civilization, this rapid advancement in political growth, is a question which immediately suggests itself to every inquirer, and for which he seeks in vain for an answer in the scanty fragments of antiquity, which shed but a faint and glimmering light on the annals of this singular and illustrious people.

So evident, indeed, has the insufficiency of historical information on the origin of the Tuscans appeared, that many antiquaries of celebrity in the last century, despairing of obtaining any clue from the conflicting testimony of ancient writers, have not hesitated to quit altogether the beaten track of history, and to venture amidst the alluring mazes of conjecture. The consequence of this mode of investigation was easy to be foreseen; system followed system, till there scarcely remained any nation of acknowledged antiquity, to which the honor of having colonized Etruria was not ascribed.

Thus it was supposed that the Tuscans might be descended from the Egyptians,* the Canaanites,† or the Phœnicians.‡ Others, again, contended for their Celtic§ origin. The multiplicity of these opinions is the best proof of the little dependence that is to be placed on systems which trust for support to conjecture alone. The records of history, even where they seem most to fail us, will be found a safer and surer guide than reasoning which is founded on mere assumption and hypothesis. It is, then, with the united aid of history, and conjecture used with moderation, that we shall endeavor to feel our way through this intricate subject; and there are three sources from which we derive information respecting the origin of ancient Tuscany, viz.: The accounts of Greek writers, those of the Romans, and the existing national monuments discovered in Etruria.

With respect to the Romans, it is well known that they concerned themselves little about inquiries into the origin of

* Dempster. *Italia antiqua*, lib. i. p. 79.

† Maffei. *Degli Italia prim.*, p. 218-228.

‡ Swinton. *De Lingua Etruria*, p. 92.

§ Pollosotier. *Hist. des Celtes*, lib. i. p. 178.

nations, but received without much examination all the accounts, even of the early population of Italy, which were transmitted to them by the Greeks, their masters in every species of literature; so that little original information can be derived from them in an inquiry which is to be traced considerably higher than the foundation of their city. The evidence which is supplied by the inscriptions and coins of Etruria, respecting the origin of its inhabitants has hitherto done little towards settling the question; and since the age of their monuments, which had been greatly exaggerated, has been proved by able judges* to be posterior to the commencement even of the Roman republic, we are obliged to seek among the historians and poets of Greece for the earliest records of Etruscan history.

If we are to credit the famous Lydian tradition recorded by Herodotus, that ancient people ought to be considered as the parent stock of the Tyrrhenians. According to their accounts a great famine arose in Lydia during the reign of Atys, one of the earliest kings; when it had lasted for several years, it was at length determined that the nation should divide itself into two parts, under the respective commands of Lydus and Tyrrhenus, the two sons of Atys; one of which was to migrate, the other to remain in possession of the country. It fell to the lot of Tyrrhenus to abandon Lydia with the people under his charge. He accordingly equipped a fleet in quest of a country to settle in; when, after passing by various nations and countries, he finally arrived among the Umbri, where he founded several cities, which the people, who from him were called Tyrrhenians, occupied up to the time of Herodotus, who simply delivered this account as he received it from the Lydians.

Freret† has observed, that the Lydians were never considered as a maritime people; and, at any rate, that the art of navigation at the period which we ought to assign to the Lydian colony, according to the account of Herodotus, must have been quite in its infancy. With regard to this objec-

* Lanzi. *Saggio di Lingua Etrusca*, iii. 38.

† Freret, *Mém. de l'Acad.*, xviii. 91.

tion it is remarkable, that in the naval epochs of Castor,* we find the Lydians mentioned as an early maritime power. It is evident that the art of navigation had already attained to a certain degree of perfection before the siege of Troy, but we cannot admit so late a period as this for the Tyrrhenian migration, since the existence of the Tyrrhenian Italy before the siege of Troy, appears to be placed beyond a doubt.

Not to mention the Phœnicians, who in the most remote ages are known to have navigated every part of the Mediterranean sea, as well as other seas, we find that Minos, King of Crete, had a powerful navy for that age, and made expeditions into Sicily and Italy.† The insignia of royalty, such as the curule chair and purple robe, which the Romans borrowed from the Tuscans, are recognized by Dionysius, of Halicarnassus, himself, as Lydian badges of honor; and the eagle standards of Rome, also originally Tuscan, appear to have been common to the armies of Persia.‡ The comic dancers of Etruria, called *Ludii*, were celebrated for their agility and grace; and according to Val. Maximus, who mentions their introduction at Rome, they derived this talent from the Curetes and Lydians. It is also remarked that divination and augury, which form so leading a distinction in the religion of Etruria, took their rise in Caria, according to Pliny. The superstitious practice of divining from the inspection of the livers of victims, obtained in Asia, at a very early period, being alluded to by the prophet Ezekiel,§ where Grotius observes, that the Lydians had probably derived this practice from the Chaldeans, and had transmitted it to the Tuscans.

It is a fact sufficiently established on good authority, that the Greeks were acquainted with a people whom they called Tyrrhenians, but whose geographical position was very different from that of their Italian namesakes. Thucydides has noticed them in the Chalcidic region, near mount Athos;

* A Greek of Marseilles, who flourished under the Ptolomies, and wrote on the nations who in ancient times were masters of the sea.

† Herodotus, vii., 169.

‡ Xen. Anab., i. 10.

§ C. xx., v. 21.

and described them as the Tyrrheni, who once dwelt in the island of Lemnos.* From other sources we learn, that these Tyrrheni, or Pelagi, as they are often called, had built for the Athenians the wall which surrounded their acropolis; but being afterwards driven out of Attica, are said to have retired to the island of Lemnos and Imbros.† The father of Pythagoras is said to have been one of these Tyrrhenians.

Here, then, is sufficient evidence of the existence of the Tyrrheni as a people, known to the Greeks, under that specific appellation, though they are frequently designated by the generic name of Pelasgi; and if we admit that it was this people, which at an early period migrated from Thrace and the north of Greece into Italy, there will be found no better system for reconciling the various and contradictory opinions which have been entertained on this point of history by many writers, both in ancient and modern times.

Where historical records fail, the analysis of language is the only clue, it must be allowed, which can enable us to trace the origin of ancient nations with any probability of success; but when the results are so much at variance with each other, much doubt must, of necessity, attach to the process by which those results have been obtained. The knowledge of the ancient languages of Italy, of which the Latin must be considered as a dialect only, though it became the prevailing one, is comparatively of recent date. The Etruscan alphabet, the characters of which are the same as that of the Umbrian and Oscan dialects, had not been identified and made out with certainty till within the last fifty years; for the inscribed monuments of these people being rare and scanty, it has been a work of time as well as of great industry and sagacity, to draw any well established conclusion from them. These two last qualities, we think eminently displayed in the learned work of Lanzi, on the Etruscan and other dialects of Italy; and it is but a small part of the praise due to him to say, that in his essay he has done more towards making us acquainted with this curious branch of philology, than all the writers who had preceded

* Thucydides, iv., 109.

† Herodotus, iv., 145.

him. The analogy which subsists between the forms, *Tusci*, *Osci*, and *Volsci*, would furnish a presumption of the indigenous origin of the former, but that point seems abundantly established by the fundamental similarity of language which has been discovered to exist between the Etruscan and the other native dialects of Italy.

Having thus far tried to explain the origin of the Tuscan people, it remains for us to see how far their improved civilization and political superiority can be traced to the settlements formed by the Tyrrhenians amongst them. But as it will be naturally asked how we are to suppose that this people arrived in Italy, and at what period, we feel it necessary, first of all, to say a few words respecting that part of their history.

The easiest and most obvious way by which the Tyrrheni, coming from Thrace and the north of Greece, may be supposed to have reached Italy, would be by the Danube, and then by the Save up to the Italian Alps, and the head of the Adriatic. It is on this sea, doubtless, that history, however faint in its records of these transactions, places their first settlements, whether they reached it by land or in a fleet. They were unquestionably a maritime people, and their first settlements, *Hadria*, *Spina*, and *Ravenna* were seaport towns. If we follow the plain thread of history, divested of the romantic circumstances which *Dionysius* has interwoven in his narrative of the transactions of the *Pelasgi* with the *Aborigines*, it will appear that the former gradually advanced from the *Po* into the country of the *Umbria*, who being then at war with the *Siculi*, gladly received their assistance, and after the expulsion of the enemy, gave them settlements and lands in the newly acquired territory, which was *Etruria* proper. In the history of these events we adhere chiefly to the authority of *Philistus*, the Sicilian historian, who makes the *Siculi* of *Ligurian* origin, and states that the people who expelled them were the *Umbri* and *Pelasgi*, that being the most rational and intelligible account of this early revolution. According to the same historian, the migration of the *Siculi* took place about eighty years before the siege of *Troy*; so that we shall not be very far from the mark in assigning the

date of about one hundred years before the Trojan war, to the settlement of the Tyrrheni in Etruria.

Here, then, they founded, with the assistance of the natives, their first twelve cities, and if we conceive this people bringing with them all the improvements in war navigation, and general civilization, which Greece was then beginning to derive from her proximity to the East and to Egypt, into a country only inhabited, and that partially, by rude and savage clans, we shall easily form an idea of the great and rapid influence which they would exercise over the moral and political state of Italy. We must suppose them to have been joined, from time to time, by numerous bands of Pelasgi, adventurers like themselves, as Ephorus represented them, who would flock from different parts of Greece to any country where renown and profit were to be acquired. The Tyrrhenian pirates, who had hitherto infested the Ægean, would naturally retire, when that sea was protected by the navy of Minos, to the seas of Italy, to exercise there the habits which they had acquired from the Phœnicians, and which remained so long a characteristic of their nation. We learn from Strabo,* that the Greeks did not venture to send colonies into Sicily till long after the fall of Troy, owing to the dread inspired by those formidable depredators. From the traditions preserved by Lycophron, it would appear that they formed settlements on almost every part of the coast washed by the Tyrrhenian sea. Their colonies in Campania and in Lucania, where Paestum is supposed to have been founded by them, as well as others, on the shores of the Adriatic, also sufficiently attest their busy and enterprising spirit. They seem, in fact, to have spread themselves over all Italy, and in that sense we may, perhaps, take the assertion of Livy,† to be true, that the Tuscan name had reached every part of the peninsula and its seas before the arrival of Æneas.

But it was in Etruria, properly so called, that the Tyrrheni laid the first foundation of this power, and established under Tarchon their leader, a confederacy of twelve cities.‡

* Strabo, v. 221.

† Livy, xi., 557.

‡ Strabo, v., 219.

Strabo represents the Tuscans as being perpetually engaged in hostilities with the Umbri, from whom they were only separated by the Tiber; and we are led to infer, that the advantage rested decidedly with the former people, since he goes on to state that they gradually extended the confines of their territory, and finally possessed themselves of the plains watered by the Po. It is to this acquisition of dominion that Pliny* probably refers, when he reports that the Tuscans wrested no less than three hundred cities from their Umbrian antagonists. In the prosecution of their successful career, the Tuscans having arrived on the shores of the Adriatic, obtained possession, also, of the original Tyrrhenian settlements of Hadria and Spina, which the Tyrrheni, being too weak to defend them, abandoned, as Strabo relates, to the invaders, while Ravenna fell into the hands of the Umbri.†

The numerous discoveries of national monuments which have been made in Etruria confirm the fact that we are insisting upon, and point out that part of Italy as the original seat and abode of the Etruscans: while very few remains of this kind have been discovered in Piedmont and Lombardy. It is in Etruria that we can best trace the influence of the Tyrrhenian colony, in changing the habits and improving the condition of its natives. It is to the Tyrrheni that we would ascribe that mixture of religions of Greece and Italy which is known to have obtained in the Etruscan rites. Thus, with the deities peculiar to the country, such as Voltuna, Narcia, and the Dii Consentes, we find they worshipped Aplu, or the Pelasgian Apollo, Thurms, or Hermer, Juno, Minerva, and other divinities common to the Greeks.‡

Of the influence of the Pelasgi in the language of Italy there seems no question, the fact being admitted by ancient as well as modern writers. We are inclined to think that the Tyrrheni introduced the Pelasgic characters into Etruria and Umbria, and likewise communicated them to the Oscans, whose characters are somewhat more rude and uncouth. Tacitus, however, seems to say, that letters were brought by Damaratus of Corinth; but Gori and Lanzi think, and it

* Pliny, iii, 14.

† Strabo, v., 214.

‡ Miceli, ii., 22.

seems more natural so to interpret Tacitus, that Damartus only improved the Etruscan alphabet by the addition of some letters.* We must leave it to philologists to examine the causes which operated differently in forming the dialects of Etruria and Latium. But it seems that the difference which at first might not be considerable, gradually increased from the various elements which the latter received into its composition, while the former remained uncultivated and stationary. In proof of this it may be noticed, that the Etruscans retained the ancient mode of writing from right to left, while the Latins, together with new characters, adopted that arrangement which has since generally prevailed. These are the principal points in which the effects of the Tyrrhenian colony are visible in improving and civilizing Etruria. With respect to particular customs we are too little acquainted with the history of that country to distinguish what was indigenous, and what borrowed; but it seems sufficient to know that they infused a spirit of enterprise and conquest into the nation in which they had been adopted; a spirit which long prevailed and increased after the original Tyrrheni had removed or disappeared, as they are said to have done, towards the period of the Trojan war.†

Commerce, and the cultivation of the fine arts, for which this inventive people appear to have had a natural turn, would add to their refinement, and complete their superiority over the other comparatively barbarous tribes of Italy; circumstances which will account for their having been distinguished by the Greeks from the days of Hesiod to those of Thucydides and Aristotle, when Rome was unknown, or was thought to be a Tyrrhenian city. Whether it was really so may be a matter of speculation, in which it will not be forgotten how much she borrowed from Etruria in the formation of her religious and political institutions, and in the detail of her civil and military economy. Had the Tuscans formed a regular and effective plan for securing their conquests and strengthening their confederacies, they would have been the masters of Italy. But their enterprises, after a certain period, seem to have been desultory, and their meas-

* Lanzi, i., 121.

† Dion, Hal., l. 26.

ures ill-combined and ineffectual. A fatal want of internal union which prevailed amongst their states, as Strabo* judiciously observes, rendered them an easy conquest to their Gallic invaders in the north of Italy, and to the hardy Samnites in Campania; while Rome was aiming at the very centre of their power and existence those persevering and systematic attacks which with her were never known to fail.

The history of the Tuscans subsequently to the foundation of Rome, is to be gleaned from Livy, and, at intervals, from short detached notices in the Greek historians and poets; but a rich field is left open to the antiquary who would illustrate the annals of this interesting people from the monuments that are daily discovered in their country, which seems destined to be the seat of the arts and good taste, through a perpetuity of ages. If the books of Aristotle and Theophrastus on the civil institutions of the Tyrrheni, or even the history of the Emperor Claudius, had been preserved to us, we should doubtless have been better acquainted with the causes of that ascendancy which they are said to have once exercised over the whole of Italy.

Etruria, considered as a Roman province, was separated from Liguria by the river Macra; from Cisalpine Gaul and Umbria, to the north and northeast, by the Apennines; from the Umbria again, from the Sabines and Latium, by the Tiber to the southeast and south. Beginning from the Macra, the first place we meet on the coast of Etruria is Luna, now Golfo di Spezzia, celebrated for its beautiful and capacious harbor, as early as the days of Ennius.† Before the division under Augustus, Luna had formed part of Liguria. We find that the harbor of Luna was chiefly resorted to by the Romans, as a rendezvous for the fleets which they sent to Spain; it was also very famous for its white marbles, which now take their name from the neighboring town of Carrara.‡ Pliny speaks of the wine and cheese§ made in the neighborhood of Luna; the latter were sometimes so large as to weigh one thousand pounds. Inscriptions give Luna

* Strabo, v., 219.

† Lunai portum est opere cognoscere civis.

‡ Anne metallifera reperit jam moenia lune Tyrrhenosyne domus?

§ Caseus Etruscae signatus iugine lune, Praestabit pueris prandia mille t ris.

the title of a Roman municipium. Pisa retains its site and name as a modern city of great celebrity. The origin of Pisa is lost amidst the fables to which the Trojan war gave rise, and which are common to so many Italian cities. The earliest mention we have of this city in the Roman history is in Polybius,* from whom we learn, as well as from Livy,† that its harbor was much frequented by the Romans in their communication with Sardinia, Gaul and Spain. It was here that Scipio landed his army, when returning from the mouth of the Rhone to oppose Hannibal in Italy. Strabo speaks of it as having been formerly an important naval station; in his day it was still a very flourishing commercial town, from the supplies of timber which is furnished to the fleets, and the costly marbles which the neighboring quarries afforded for the splendid palaces and villas of Rome. Its territory produced wine, and the species of wheat called *siligo*.‡ The *Portus Pisanus* was at the mouth of the Arno. About three miles from Pisa, towards Lucca, are some hot springs, noticed by Pliny as the *Aque Pisanæ*,§ now *Bagni di Pisa*. Northeast of Lucca, and at the foot of the Apennines, we find *Pistorium*, now *Pistoria*. This town is memorable in the history of Rome, as having witnessed in its vicinity the close of Catiline's desperate, but short career. About twenty-five miles from *Pistarium*, in a southeast direction, we find *Fæsula*, a considerable town of Etruria, the ruins and name of which are preserved in the well-known hill and village of *Fiesole*. It is noticed for the first time in history, by Polybius,|| in his account of the early wars between the Gauls and Romans. *Florentia*, now Florence, a town so celebrated as the capital of Italy, has no pretensions to a foundation of great antiquity, as we find no mention made of it before the time of Caesar, by whom Frontinus says it was colonized; unless we think with Cluverius, that the town called *Fluentia* by Florus,¶ and mentioned with many other distinguished cities, as having severely suffered in the civil wars of Scylla and Marius, might be identified with it. However that may

* Polybius, ii., 15-27.

† Livy, xxi., 39.

‡ Pliny, xiv., 3.

§ Pliny, ii., 103.

|| Polybius, ii., 25.

¶ Florus, i., 2.

be, we find distinct mention made of Florentia, in the reign of Tiberius; when, as Tacitus informs us, the inhabitants of that city petitioned that the waters of the Clanis, a river which was very injurious from its perpetual inundations, might not be carried off into the Arno.

Returning to the sea, the first place which presents itself beyond the mouth of the Arno is the Portus Herculis Liburni, now Livorno, or Leghorn. About eighteen miles farther we come to another harbor, named Vada Volaterrana, from the neighboring city of Volaterræ; it is still known by the name of Vada. Nearly fifteen miles inland, and on the right bank of the same river, stood the ancient city of Volaterræ, now Volterra. Its Etruscan name, as it appears on numerous coins, was Volathri.* Even if we had not the express authority of Dion. Hal.† for assigning to Volterra a place among the twelve principal cities of ancient Etruria, the extent of its remains, its massive walls, vast sepulchral chambers, and numerous objects of Etruscan art, would suffice to show its antique splendor and importance, and claim for it that rank. From the monuments alone which have been discovered within its walls, and in the immediate vicinity, no small idea is formed of the power, civilization, and taste of the ancient Etruscans. Its walls were composed, as may yet be seen, of huge, massive stones piled on each other without cement; and their circuit which is still distinctly marked, embraced a circumference of between three and four miles.‡ The citadel was built, as Strabo§ reports, on a hill, the ascent of which was fifteen stadia; and it is supposed that the Tyrrhenian city, of which Aristotle speaks under the name of Oenarea, as being built on a hill, is Volterra.

The first mention of Volterra, in Roman history, occurs in Livy,|| where an engagement of no great importance, is stated to have taken place near the city, at the close of a war, in which the Etruscans were leagued with the Samnites against the Romans. The latter were under the command of L. Corn. Scipio. In the second Punic war, we find Volterra among the other cities of Etruria that were

* Lanzi, ii., 95. † Dion. Hal., iii., 52. ‡ Mic., i., 26. § Strabo, v., 223. || Livy, x., 12.

zealous in their offers of naval stores. The evias of Volaterra have the impression of a dolphin, which numismatical writers agree in considering as emblematical of a maritime power—to the Romans. Many years afterwards, Volaterra sustained a siege against Sylla, which lasted two years.

To the east of Volterra stands Sienna, a modern city of celebrity, which appears to have been anciently called Sena, with the addition of Julia to distinguish it from Sena Gallicia, in Umbria. This designation implies a colony formed by Julius, or Augustus Cæsar. Considerably to the southwest of this last place, Massa Veternensis has preserved the first part of its name. The adjective Veternensis implies the existence of a more ancient town, probably called Vetera from the ruins of which Massa may have arisen. A few miles to the southwest of this place Vetulonii, one of the most powerful and distinguished of the twelve Etruscan cities, is supposed to have been situated. Its position, indeed, was long a matter of great uncertainty, and has given rise to much discussion. D'Auville,* who examines the subject fully, is inclined to think with Cluverius, that the position marked by the name of Valinis, is a corruption for Vetulonii, and would, therefore, place this ancient town on the coast, though against the authority of Strabo, who expressly states that Populonium was the only one of the Etruscan cities which was close to the sea.† Dempster was not able to throw any light on the subject. But a more accurate survey of this tract of the country, usually called the Maremma of Sienna, by an Italian antiquary, named Qimenès,‡ has proved the ruins of Vetulonii to exist in a forest, still called Selve di Vetlesæ, and in the position which Ptolomy had assigned to that city. The Velinis and the ruins called Vetulia, must belong to the Aquæ Vetulonæ of Pliny. If we may believe Silius Italiens, it was Vetulonii that first used the insignia—the Etruscan name of Vetulonii, as we learn from coins, was Vetluna; they bear the impression of a wheel and an axe, which are supposed to have reference to those insignia of magistracy common to the Etruscans,

* D'Auville, *Anat. Geogr.*, i., 132.

† Pliny, *iii.*, 5.

‡ *Essai sur la Maremma Senese*, p. 24.

and with which Rome afterwards decorated her consuls and dictators. Vetulonii is ranked among the twelve principal cities.* An inscription quoted by Cluverius, proves that it was a municipal town under the Romans.

In a line with Vetalonii, and on the coast, was Populonium, once a most flourishing town, and the naval arsenal of the Etruscans. It has been already noticed, that this was the only considerable city which that nation founded immediately on the coast; in other instances they were prevented from doing this by the want of commodious havens, and through fear of being exposed to the attacks of pirates. But the harbor of Populonium, now Porto Baratto, possessed peculiar advantages; it was secure, and of great extent, and from its proximity to the island of Elba, so rich in metals, of the highest importance, as the produce of the mines appears never to have been prepared for use in the island itself, but was always sent over to Populonium for that purpose. In proof of the antiquity of this place, it may be observed, that it is mentioned by Virgil† as one of the Etruscan cities which sent forces. Strabo has accordingly described the site of Populonium from personal inspection; he tells us that it was placed on a lofty hill that ran out into the sea, like a peninsula. On the summit was a tower for watching the approach of the thunny fish. From thence you could see plainly the island of Elba, and even Corsica and Sardinia. We may infer from Livy,‡ that it was still an important city in the time of the second Punic war, but during the civil wars it sustained a siege, about the same time with Volterra, in which it suffered so much, that nothing but the temple and a few houses were preserved. The arsenal and part of the foot of the promontory, now Capo di Campana, presented, however, a less desolate appearance. The vestiges of this ancient city are to be seen about three miles north of Piombino. A little to the east is a small lake, formed by the river Cornia, supposed by Cluverius to be the Lynceus of Lycophron. This lake, which has a narrow outlet to the sea, is now called Caldano, and is described by Rutilius, together with its haven,

* Dion. Hal., iii., 51.

† Aen. x., 174.

‡ Livy, xxx., 39.

the Portus Faleria, now Porto Falese. Continuing along the coast, we find the little river called Alma, and which still retains its name. Somewhat beyond is the Portus Trajanus of Ptolomy, now Torre di Troja. The Lacus Prelius of Cicero, probably the same as the Prilis of Pliny, is now Lago di Castiglione. Two or three miles to the northeast of this lake, some remarkable ruins, with the name of Roselle attached to them, point out the site of the ancient Rosellae, one of the twelve Etruscan cities. It is mentioned more than once by Livy, in the course of the wars with Etruria. It was taken by assault in the year 454 U. C., by the consul L. Posth. Megillus.* In the second Punic war, we hear of its furnishing timber, especially fir, for the Roman fleet. From Pliny we learn that it subsequently became a colony, which is confirmed by an inscription cited by Holstenius.†

A short distance from the lake Peilis, brings us to the mouth of the Ombrone, anciently Umbro, one of the most considerable rivers of Etruria; it is represented as navigable by Pliny,‡ and its name, as the same writer observes, is indicative of the Umbri having once been in possession of Etruria. Beyond this river was the Portus Telamo, now Telamone, a city of high antiquity, if we are to credit the account of Divid. Lic., who attributes its foundation to the Argonauts; but without trusting to this fabulous story, there is no doubt of its having been founded at a very early period, since it is mentioned by Timaeus, whom Diodorus quotes. It was probably a Pelasgic city—the coins, with the epigraph T. L. A., and T. A. L., in Etruscan characters, are generally ascribed to Telamo. Telamo is chiefly memorable in the history of Rome, from an important military event which took place in its neighbourhood, and which we find recorded at length in Polybius.§ In the interval between the first and second Punic wars, and seven years before the beginning of the latter, that is, 529 U. C., the Cisalpine Gauls, joined by a numerous army of Transalpine barbarians called Gaseatae, made a formidable irruption into Etruria. They baffled the vigilance of the prætor, who was posted at Arretium, by passing the Apennines, north of

* Livy, x., 37.

† Ital. Ant., p. 39.

‡ Pliny, iii., 5.

§ Polybius, ii., 25.

that town; crossing probably from Bologne, by the Val di Mugello. They then advanced to Clusium, without meeting with any obstacle, being, on their arrival at that place, only three days' march from Rome. Hearing, however, that the prætor, apprised of their arrival into Etruria, was hastening to bring them to an engagement, they changed the direction of their march, and moved from the Val di Chiana, as if they intended to retreat to Faesulæ, but instead of continuing their route to that town, they concealed their forces among the hills of Sienna, and lay in wait for the enemy. The prætor having fallen into the ambuscade, sustained a severe defeat; rallying, however, his scattered troops on a neighboring hill, he there maintained himself, till he was relieved by the consul Paulus Aemilius, who was stationed with a powerful army at Ariminum; and on hearing of the irruption made by the Gauls, moved rapidly to the support of his countrymen. The Gauls, unable to prevent the junction of the two Roman armies, determined not to hazard a battle, but to endeavor to secure their retreat with the rich booty they had already been able to collect. Cut off, however, from the passes over the Apennines, by the Roman army in their front, they had no other resource left but to gain the coast, and proceed by Pisa and Luna, through Liguria, to their own country. They descended, therefore, from the hills of Sienna into the Maremma, and advanced towards the sea, following the course of the Ombrone. Meanwhile the other consul, C. Atilius, who was on his return from Sardinia, had landed at Pisa, and was marching with his army along the coast, on his way to Rome. Near Telamo he fell in with an advanced party of the Gauls, from whom he learned the state of things. Apprised by this means of the approach of the enemy, he took up an advantageous position, to intercept their passage; while his colleague, who was close at hand, opposed their retreat. The barbarians being assailed in front and rear, after a desperate conflict, in which the brave Atilius was slain, were finally routed and cut to pieces. This memorable action, though generally known by the name of the battle of Telamo, was not fought precisely in the neighborhood of that city, but nearer the lake Prilis, on the right

bank of the Ombrone, and not far from the modern town of Grosseti. This circumstance is established by a curious passage in Frontinus, who mentions that a large detachment of the Gauls was surprised and destroyed by the consul Aemilius, during their retreat, near a place called Columna, which is easily recognised in its modern name of la Colonna; and which enables us to verify the accuracy of Polybius's account, and to explain in a satisfactory manner the movements of the contending armies.

Telamo was doubtless mentioned by that historian, as the town of greatest note which occurred on that part of the Tuscan coast. The battle of Telamo was important, for it not only freed the Romans from a most formidable danger, but enabled them, for the first time, to carry their arms into Cisalpine Gaul, and so effectually repressed the boldness of these barbarians, that they never after ventured to invade the Roman territory, except under the conduct of Hannibal. Ptolomy mentions only the promontory of that name. A little to the south of it is the Osa, a small stream, recorded by the same geographer, and which is still so called, empties itself into the sea. Proceeding still along the coast, we find the important city of Cossa,* or Cossæ, at a little distance from the modern town of Ansedonia, which is now itself in ruins. From Pliny† we learn that Cossa was founded by the people of Volci, an Etruscan city; and Virgil‡ has named it in the catalogue of the forces sent by Etruria to the aid of Æneas. Cossa became a Roman colony, A. U. C., 480. Subsequently we find the Cossoni mentioned in terms of commendation by Livy, for their fidelity to the Romans during the desperate struggles of the second Punic war. The neighboring port, which is noticed by ancient writers under the different appellations of Portus Cossanus and Portus Herculis; has preserved the latter designation under the name of Porto d'Ereole. The poet alludes to the defeat of M. Aemilius Lepidus, the consul, who sought to raise

* *Massicus aerata principes secant aquora Tigris :
Sub quo mille manus juvenum, qui moenia Clusi
Quique urbem liquere Cossa.*—Aen. x., 167.

† Pliny, iii., 5.

‡ Aen. x., 167.

disturbances in the state after the death of Sylla, but was checked by his colleague, Q. Lutatius Catulus, who defeated him near Cossa, and drove him from thence to seek shelter in Sardinia. About five miles farther, Cluverius places the seat of the Pelasgic King Malaeotus, hence named Regis Villa. Tradition represented this chief as one of those Pelasgi who returned to Greece and settled in Attica.

Beyond is the river Marta of the Itineraries, which retains its name unchanged. Near its mouth, and on the side of the Terre di Corneto, we would place the ancient town of Graviscai. Cluverius inclines to Corneto itself, but that place is too much inland; for it is evident, from the account of Strabo, and the maritime Itineraries, that Gravisca was a seaport. It appears to have been a town of some note, and probably served as a harbor to the important city of Tarquinii, situated at some distance from the coast. Gravisca became a Roman colony, A. U. C., 571. But the low and marshy situation in which it was built, seems to have rendered this town always unhealthy. Somewhat higher up than Corneto, on the left bank of the Marta, some ruins, to which the name of Turchina is attached, point out the site of Tarquinii,* represented as one of the most powerful cities of Etruria, and celebrated in history for its early connexion with Rome. The foundation of Tarquinii is ascribed by Strabo, to Tarchin, the famous Etruscan chief, who is so often introduced by the poets. Some have supposed him to be the same with the celebrated Etruscan lawgiver, Tages as similar fabulous circumstances are ascribed to both. Justin states that Tarquinii was founded by some Thessalians and Spinambi, meaning, doubtless, the Pelasgi and Umbri, who came from Spina, on the Adriatic; a notion which sufficiently agrees with that we endeavored to establish respecting the Tyrrhenian colony. There seems abundant authority for admitting Taryninii among the twelve states of Etruria. Strabo indeed states, that it was from this city that the Romans borrowed all their royal insignia and mili-

* Ipse oratores ad me regniq[ue] carum
Cum sceptr[o] misit, mandatq[ue] Tarchon
Succedam castris, Tyrrhenaq[ue] regna, capessam—Aen., viii., 505.

tary pomp during the reign of Tarquin; but this fact is at variance with the admission of Dionysius, of Halicarnassus, that these and many other Etruscan institutions and customs, existed already in the time of Romulus. The circumstances which placed the first Tarquin on the throne of Rome, are too well known to be detailed here. The arrival of Demaratus, father of that prince, from Corinth, in the time of Cypselus, A. U. C., 120, is to be considered as an important event in the history of Etruria, as the subsequent improvements in the fine arts and in the literature of that country, are generally ascribed to him. It proves also the intercourse which subsisted at that time between Etruria and the maritime states of Greece. There is one circumstance connected with the reign of Tarquinius Priscus, at Rome, which appears deserving of remark, as it relates to the history of Etruria. It is stated by Dion. Hal. that this prince, after a long war, compelled the twelve Etruscan states to acknowledge him as their head. We cannot but consider this fact as extremely dubious. If we reflect that Rome, many years after, was not able to resist the combined forces of Etruria, under Porsenna, and that this war with Tarquin is not once mentioned by Livy, we shall be rather inclined to look upon Rome, at that time, as the dependent or ally of Etruria, rather than the mistress of that powerful state.

Tarquiniæ was foremost among the cities of Etruria to assist Tarquinius Superbus in re-establishing himself at Rome.* Its wars with that city, and final subjugation, are related in the seventh book of the same historian. At a later period it became a colony and *municipium*. From Statius we collect that the territory of Tarquiniæ was woody; and from the circumstance of its having furnished sails for the Roman fleet, that it was as productive of flax as it is now. It was in this district that Q. Fulvius Lippinus had formed his parks, which, according to Varro, were so well stocked with wild beasts. The sites of Cartuara and Coalenebra, two obscure towns mentioned by Livy as belonging to Tarquiniæ, are quite unknown. Centumelle, now Civita

* Livy, li. 6.

Vecchia, is better known under the name of Trajani Portus, that emperor having caused a magnificent harbor to be constructed there, which Pliny the younger has described in one of his epistles. Two immense piers formed the port, which was semicircular, while an island, constructed artificially, of immense masses of rock, brought there by vessels and sunk in the sea, served as a breakwater in front, and supported a pharos. The coast being very destitute of shelter for vessels of burden, this work of Trajan was of great national benefit. Centumcelle having been destroyed by the Saracens, the inhabitants built another town some distance inland, but afterwards they re-occupied the old city, which from that circumstance obtained its present name.

Castrum Novum, which follows next on the coast, must not be confounded with the Castrum Junii of Virgil. The latter place was certainly in Latium, and not Ardea; and probably the designation of Novum was added to the Etruscan city to distinguish it from its more ancient namesake. Castrum Novum appears to have been a Roman colony. The next place to be noticed on the coast is Tyrgi, whose name sufficiently attests its Grecian origin, had we not, besides the authority of Strabo on the subject; he informs us that this city had a temple erected and dedicated to Lucina, by the Pelasgi, which was once much celebrated for its riches, until it was plundered by Dionissius, tyrant of Syracuse. This expedition which took place soon after the capture of Rome by the Gauls, or about 368, U. C., is related at some length by Diodorus Siculus, who informs us that Tyrgi was the harbor of the important town of Cere, a fact also mentioned by Strabo. The inhabitants of this last place having come out to repel the invaders, were defeated by the Sicilians, who returned to Syracuse loaded with spoils, the produce of which exceeded five hundred talents. We may judge of the luxury of this place from the fact of its courtezans being noted by Lucilius. We now come to Cere, or, as it always called by the Greek writers, Agylla, one of the most considerable cities of Etruria, and universally acknowledged to have been founded by the Tyrrheni Pelasgi. The remains of Cere are still to be traced about four miles from

the sea, on a spot known to the people of the country by the name of Cerveteri. The last place to be pointed out on the coast is the Portus Augusti, at the mouth of the Tiber.

We have yet to notice the few islands which lie off the coast of Etruria. That of Gargona, which is opposite to Leghorn, is no doubt the Urgo of Pliay and Mela. Near to it is the Maenaria of Pliny, now Melaria. The island of Elba, named *Æthalia* by the Greeks, and *Ilva* by the Latins, is distant about ten miles from Populonium, the nearest point of the Tuscan coast. *Ilva* was early celebrated for its rich iron mines; but by whom they were and worked is uncertain, as they are said to exhibit the marks of labors carried on for an incalculable time. It even seems to have been a popular belief among the ancients, that the metallic substance was constantly renewed. It is probable that the Phœnicians were the first to make known the mineral riches of the island, and that it was from them the Tyrrheni learned to estimate its value; which may have held out to them no small inducement for settling on the coast, otherwise deficient in natural advantages. It is to the latter people that we would trace the name of *Æthalia*; since it appears that Lemnos, which they once inhabited, bore, according to the testimony of Polybius, the same appellation in ancient times. The Portus Argous, supposed to have derived its name from the expedition of the Argonauts, is now Porto Furraio. Between Elba and Corsica the little island called Planasia by Varro, and Planaria, by Pliny, is now Pianosa. Tacitus relates, that Augustus was persecuted by Livia to banish his nephew. Agrippa, thither. The rock laid down in modern maps under the name of Monte Christo, is the Oglysa of Pliny. Caprania, a larger island than the two last, is now Capraia. Pliny informs us that it derived its name from the number of goats with which it was stocked, whence the Greeks called it *Ægilon*.

Opposite the harbor of Cossa are two small islands, Igilium, now Giglia, and Artimesium, now Gianuti. In order to describe what remains of the interior of Etruria we shall now proceed to the source of the Arno. Here we find Arezza, the ancient Arretium, a town of considerable celebrity, and generally considered as one of the

principal states of Etruria. After an unsuccessful campaign, in which the Romans had carried their arms beyond the Cimian forest, and obtained a truce for thirty years; after an interval of fourteen years, war was again renewed by the Arretini, but with the same result, when, on their submission, a cessation of hostilities was granted them for forty years. From that time Arretium may be considered as subject to the Romans. As a defence against the incursions of the Cisalpine Gauls, it became a place of great importance. In relating the transactions which led to the battle of Jellamo it was stated, that a Roman general was stationed at Arretium; and some years after, we find the Consul Flaminius posted there to defend the entrance of Etruria against Hannibal. The city became a Roman colony probably, soon after the time of Scylla.

Pliny distinguishes three colonies: the Arretini, properly so called; and those surnamed Fidentes; and Inlienses. Arretium was much celebrated for its terra cotta vases, which Pliny ranks with those of Samos and Laguntum. About fourteen miles south of Arretium, we find Cortona, a city whose claims to antiquity appear to be equalled by few other towns in Italy, and which to this day retains its name unchanged. Concerning its origin, we learn from Dionysius, of Halicarnassus, who quotes from an author somewhat anterior to Herodotus, that the Pelasgi who had landed at Spina, on the Po, subsequently advanced into the interior of Italy, and occupied Cortona which they fortified; and from thence formed other settlements in Tyrrhenia. On this account it is that we find Cortona styled the metropolis of that province. A few miles to the south of Cortona, is the Lacus Trasimenus, a name which naturally recalls the celebrated battle fought on its shores. The description of the disastrous overthrow of the Romans, is so familiar to every reader, and it is so clearly and accurately given by the original historians, that it is needless to dwell upon it here, except so far as it may serve to illustrate the local features of the country in which the contending armies moved and fought. Hannibal, having on entering Etruria, given his troops that repose which their late fatigues so much

required, and during that time having thoroughly made himself acquainted with the character of the general opposed to him, and the nature of the country in which he was about to carry on the war, again moved forward, and crossing the Arno, near Florence, advanced by the stations Aquileia, Fines, Biturgia, and Græcos, leaving Arretium and the Roman army on his left. He then crossed the Palus Clusina, now Val di Chiana, and having passed Coztana, entered the defile formed by the mountains, in the midst of which that city is placed, on the left, and by the Lake Thrasimene on the right. This movement of Hannibal is well described by Strabo, when mentioning this lake, but he has not been generally well understood. The geographer means to say, there were two ways of moving to the south, either by the Ariminum and Umbria, or by the defile just mentioned. The Carthaginian general succeeded by the latter, though it was more difficult. Beyond this narrow passage, and at the end of the lake, along whose margin the road is necessarily carried, is a valley of some extent, shut up by a steep hill, while it is flanked by others, which rise to a considerable elevation. Here Hannibal laid that snare for the Roman consul, which proved so fatal to him and his army. Flaminius, fired with indignation, at having been out-manœuvred by the Carthaginian general, who was ravaging within sight of his camp, the fertile plains of Etruria, pursued the foe with rash haste, and fell into the toils so artfully laid for him. The scene of this catastrophe is easily traced at the present day. The valley before described is that which is now occupied by the village of Passignano. Monte Gualandro closes upon the lake, and forms the defile by which the two armies successively entered. A little stream, which crosses the valley and falls into the lake, by its name of Sanguinetto, seems, together with the hamlet called Ossaia, to bear record of that bloody day.

But we cannot proceed any farther at present ; although we have to omit some of the most conclusive evidences of the advanced state of Etruscan civilization.

IX.—NOTICES AND CRITICISMS.

BELLES-LETTRES.

The New England Tragedies. By HENRY WADSWORTH LONGFELLOW. I. *John Endicott*; II. *Giles Corey of the Salem Farms.* 16mo, pp. 179. Boston: Ticknor & Fields. 1868.

There is not one of our poets whom we prefer, upon the whole, to Mr. Longfellow; nor is there any English poet of the present day whom we rank far above him. Yet we find it impossible to admire his recent productions. We thought "The Song of Hiawatha" exhibited a considerable falling off from "Evangeline;" we could not help regarding it as greatly inferior even to "The Courtship of Miles Standish." It certainly afforded us no pleasure to find fault with Mr. Longfellow's translation of Dante. Not one of his friends looked forward to the completion of that work with a stronger predilection in its favor, but never did any similar performance disappoint us more. We were very unwilling to call it a failure; but that it was such is now pretty generally admitted; and yet it is a work that is worthy of a place in every library, especially in the elegant form in which the first edition of it was got up by the translator's American publishers.

It was our opinion that his version of the *Divina Commedia* would add nothing to the reputation of Mr. Longfellow as a poet; we were sorry he had not chosen some subject "racy of the soil," having little doubt that had he done so he would have done himself vastly more credit. Now it seems that we were wrong in this, for the performances before us have really very little merit. We have seldom had the patience to read two five-act tragedies in a poetical form in which there is so little poetry; but there is truth enough in each, such as it is—a very grim sort. If the genius of Mr. Longfellow happens to be somewhat clouded just now, so that he cannot charm us, he has at least the manliness to present us facts, the bare recital of which is sufficiently tragical. If he has not succeeded in giving us two tragic dramas worthy of comparison with those of dramatists of acknowledged eminence, he has at least drawn as repulsive and gloomy portraits of fanaticism as there is to be found in any literature. And yet who can accuse him of exaggeration? For the sake of humanity, not to mention religion, and for the sake of the present generation of New Englanders, we confess we should be glad to sustain that charge against the poet. But it is impossible; we must admit that if he has deviated at all from the substantial truth of history, he has done so in favor of the cruel and relentless persecutors. Well might the worst enemy of Christianity say of such scenes as Mr. Longfellow describes:

"Il vient; le fanatisme est son horrible nom;
Enfant dénaturé de la religion;
Armé pour la défendre, il cherche à la détruire
Et reçu dans son sein, l'embrasse et le déchire."

The scene of "John Endicott," the first tragedy, is laid in Boston, the time being 1665. Great indeed is the improvement which has since taken place in the capital of New England; no one admires the intellectual progress that has been made more than we; and yet whoever has the courage to tell the truth must say that there are still some traces of the old fanaticism even in the modern Athens. No honest Quaker would indeed be put to death at the present day by magistrates and parsons of Boston; nor would any be put to the torture for not believing in the gospel according to St. Calvin; but is it not still a somewhat grievous sin to do certain things on the Sabbath-day that are deemed harmless in less enlightened parts of the world? Are not nuns, engaged in teaching the youth of their sex, nearly as dangerous members of society as the Quakeresses used to be in the time of Governor Endicott and Parson Norton? At least, were they not so only a few brief years since, when it was deemed necessary by the Magi of the Commonwealth of Massachusetts to examine them in their bedrooms to see whether they did not wear horns or other deadly weapons, which they might manage to conceal when they went abroad among the orthodox and righteous?

But let us hear Mr. Longfellow. His best lines, in more than one sense, are contained in his Prologue; he evokes the spirit of ancient Boston quite handsomely, as if it had been a benevolent, harmless spirit, that had nothing to do with the devils and demons that figure so largely in the tragedy:

"Rise then, O buried city that has been;
Rise up, rebuild in the painted scene,
And let our curious eyes behold once more
The pointed gable and the pent-house door,
The Meeting-house with leaden-latticed panes,
The narrow thoroughfares, the crooked lanes!" (P. 7.)

In order that every enlightened, liberal mind may be pleased at least with the moral sentiments of the poet, we give another extract from the Prologue:

"Let us remember, if these words be true,
That unto all men Charity is due;
Give what we ask; and pity while we blame,
Lest we become copartners in the shame,
Lest we condemn, and yet ourselves partake,
And persecute the dead for conscience' sake." (P. 8.)

With this foretaste, none will be disposed to judge our poet harshly. That we have no such disposition ourselves may be seen from the fact that we quote no passage merely to show that it has no poetry in it; all the extracts we have marked would have been somewhat exciting in the dullest prose. Take, for example, those which relate to Parson Norton, the shining light of the time. Endicott begins to think that there has been blood enough shed, and a sufficient number of heretics ruined, for the love of

God ; he warns the parson that the people murmur, and the ho'y man replies as follows :

"Then let them murmur !
Truth is relentless ; justice never wavers ;
The greatest firmness is the greatest mercy ;
The noble order of the Magistracy
Cometh immediately from God, and yet
This noble order of the Magistracy
Is by these Heretics despised and outraged." (P. 15.)

This settles the conscience of the governor, and the good work proceeds. It seems that the dogma of woman's rights had not yet been accepted in Parson Norton's time. A Quakeress enters the good parson's church, accompanied by several Quakers, their mission being to implore mercy. We transcribe a line or two, as a specimen of Norton's part of the dialogue that ensues :

"Be silent, babbling woman !
St. Paul commands all women to keep silence
Within the churches."

Ladies have ever proved heroines in times of persecution ; in proportion as men have degraded themselves by their bad passions, women have risen above their timidity, and put to shame by their courage the grovelling fears of the boasted lords of creation. The Quakeress does so in this instance ; whether she speaks the truth or not we leave it to the reader to determine :

"The law of God is greater than your laws !
Ye build your church with blood, your town with crime ;
The heads thereof give judgment for reward ;
The priests thereof teach only for their hire ;
Your laws condemn the innocent to death ;
And against this I bear my testimony !" (P. 11.)

But it seems that ladies were not merely insulted at this time for not being orthodox ; occasionally they were whipped publicly :

"You know that Edith,
After her scourging in three towns, was banished
Into the wilderness, into the land
That is not sown." (P. 84.)

After the parson has driven out the Quakers, he joins Governor Endicott, whom he assures that the vile heretics are the cause of all the "manifestations of the wrath divine" which New England has experienced for some time. Still the holy man refuses to repine ; he knows that if God is angry it is no wonder he should be, as long as such wicked heretics as the Quakers are permitted to live :

"These emissaries of the Evil One,
These servants and ambassadors of Satan,
Are but commissioned executioners
Of God's vindictive and deserved displeasure." (P. 13.)

If we do not mistake, the Jesuits are sometimes called "emissaries of the

Evil One" at the present day. Was it not because they were regarded as such that for many years they had to send the students from their college at Worcester all the way to Georgetown, D. C., to receive their diplomas? It seems that Father Clark was the first to prove to the satisfaction of the legislators of Massachusetts that, after all, the Jesuits are not "emissaries of the Evil One," but honest people, who are as much opposed to that wicked personage as they are themselves. As soon as the good father, who combines some wit and humor with his learning and piety, settled this point, the Jesuit college got a charter, and we have heard no more of the "emissaries of the Evil One!"

It appears that, when there was no other excuse for inflicting punishment, it was a crime even to walk on the Sabbath. The temporal power and the spiritual power went hand in hand at this time; in general, whatever the parson advised the governor was ready to execute; and when the former was engaged in graver matters his "tithing-man" represented him with becoming zeal. Accordingly a Boston Sabbath is described as follows:

"All silent as a graveyard! No one stirring;
No footfall in the street, no sound of voices!
By righteous punishment and perseverance,
And perseverance in that punishment,
At last I've brought this contumacious town
To strict observance of the Sabbath day." (P. 16.)

A portion of this description will remind some of our readers of a certain passage in Dickens's *Notes*; and Boz is not the only modern traveler who regarded a Boston Sabbath as something very sombre and melancholy. But we must treat our readers to one passage more. The people, growing tired of the orthodoxy and piety that produced no better fruits than torture, murder, and robbery, threaten to rebel against the authorities. The magistrates get frightened, and have placards posted throughout the town declaring that the jailer shall be dealt with "impartially," etc. Parson Norton, highly indignant, proceeds to tear down the placards with his own hands:

"Down with this weak and cowardly concession,
This flag of truce with Satan and with Sin!
I fling it in his face! I trample it
Under my feet!" (P. 79.)

This, we think, is quite enough of the Quaker tragedy. The drama ends pretty much as it begins—rather in a puerile way. All, or nearly all, the persecutors die suddenly. While Parson Norton was by his own fireside,

"A faintness and a giddiness came o'er him,"

and he had only time to cry, "The hand of God is on me," when he fell dead. The death of Atherton, another Quaker scourger, was equally sudden and remarkable, not to say miraculous. Just as he was returning home one evening, at the spot where the Quakers were usually tortured or hanged,

"His horse took fright and threw him to the ground,
So that his brains were dashed about the street." (P. 92.)

There may be justice enough in this, but it can hardly be called *poetical* justice. Nor can we say anything very different of the *Witch* tragedy; the twain are as much alike as any two similar performances we remember to have had the patience and perseverance to read. Hitherto we had supposed the Quakers and the witches were very different beings; but in the tragedies of Mr. Longfellow they have quite a family likeness to each other. And still more close, if possible, is the resemblance between the parsons and the magistrates. Parson Mather in the one tragedy might easily pass for the brother of Parson Norton in the other, the chief difference between them consisting in the names. In the first place, one has exactly the same faith in the Evil One; thus let us snatch a line or two from one of the long soliloquies of Parson Mather:

"I am persuaded there are few affairs
In which the Devil doth not interfere.
We cannot undertake a journey even,
But Satan will be there to meddle with it
By hindering or by furthering." (P. 105.)

Mather is also very conscientious and impartial. He is willing, indeed, to use the knife, but only when it is deserved—that is, when the witchcraft is proved:

"Be careful. Carry the knife with such exactness,
That on one side no innocent blood be shed
By too excessive zeal, and, on the other,
No shelter given to any work of darkness." (P. 110.)

We will not now detain the reader with a specimen of what was considered satisfactory evidence; but we cannot close our extracts without showing that Mather was a patriot as well as a divine!

"Ah! poor New England! He who hurricanoed
The house of Jacob is making now on thee
One last assault, more deadly and more snarled
With unintelligible circumstances
Than any thou hast hitherto encountered!" (P. 112.)

Upon the whole, we think it would have been as well for all concerned had Mr. Longfellow allowed both the Quakers and the witches, as well as their persecutors, to rest in their graves. Not, indeed, that he has brought them to life even for a day. We fear it will be too generally admitted that he has done little more than to disturb the charnel-house, without sufficiently fortifying those who accompany him against the disagreeable consequences of the rash act.

Rhymes of the Poets. By FELIX AGO. 12mo, pp. 56. Philadelphia: E. H. Buller & Co. 1868.

Such is the tendency to exaggeration at the present day, that we almost invariably find that those who promise least in their title-page give most inside, and *vice versa*. The author of the present volume makes no display; very few would expect much from his title. The size of the book,

also, is suggestive of scantiness, yet there is really a great deal in it. Nor is the fact difficult to explain; whoever "Ago" is, he has pursued the course of the skilful chemist who takes account only of the essence. Be it remembered that the bill of fare which he has set before us in this slender, unpretending form contains contributions from one hundred and fourteen poets—good, bad, and indifferent. That three fourths of this list are but rhymsters is not our author's fault; nearly all have been regarded as poets in their day, and scarcely any English or American poets worthy of the name have been overlooked.

If so much labor had been performed merely to afford us reading matter, we would hardly have said one word about it, for the reason that there is a superfluity of "elegant extracts;" but the extracts in the tiny volume before us are given with an object which too many even of our educators lose sight of. All lexicographers regard the usage of the poets as the best standard of pronunciation; but how many take the trouble to ascertain what that usage is? This would require patience, industry, intelligence, and good taste; things that are by no means so common as the members of our admiration societies so often tell each other. They are possessed, however, by the author of this book; at least those qualities are fully displayed, though without any ostentation, in "Rhymes of the Poets." A large number of the quotations given in illustration of the varying sounds of many words in common use, are curious and often amusing as well as instructive. As the work is got up in a style commensurate with the value of its contents—the typography, paper, and binding combining elegance with utility—we doubt not that it will become a favorite in the intelligent family circle as well as in the school-room.

The Earthly Paradise: A Poem. By WILLIAM MORRIS, author of "The Life and Death of Jason." From the third London edition. 16mo, pp. 430. Boston: Roberts Brothers. 1868.

Mr. Morris seems impelled to set himself and his readers long tasks, and to himself, at least, arduous ones. His "Life and Death of Jason" contained seventeen books; the volume before us comprises four hundred and thirty pages, more closely printed than is usual with such publications, and a similar volume follows to complete the work.

"Breezes are blowing in old Chaucer's verse," and Mr. Morris has "drunk their fragrance" to some purpose. From that "well of English undefiled," and from the Greek classics, he seems to have drawn his inspiration. He does not attempt to

"Fill all the stops of life with tuneful breath,"

but bears his part in a *fugue*, and does it, on the whole, quite satisfactorily. He does not undertake much as a poet, but he attempts just about what he seems able to accomplish—seeming to have a creditable conception of the nature and limitations of his genius. He says of himself:

"Of Heaven or Hell I have no power to sing,
I cannot ease the burden of your fears,

Or make quick-coming death a little thing,
 Or bring again the pleasure of past years,
 Nor for my words shall ye forget your tears,
 Or hope again for aught that I can say,
 The idle singer of an empty day." (P. 1.)

Preliminary to what he has to say of the "Earthly Paradise," Mr. Morris first gives us a Lethæan draught, and asks us to forget six centuries with their changes and their evidences of progress; then, with a wave of his wand, he sets us down amidst the surroundings of that early age in

"A nameless city in a distant sea,
 White as the changing walls of *faërie*,
 Thronged with much people clad in ancient guise." (P. 3.)

Next are introduced the chief actors in this weird drama—a band of wanderers who appear in this Grecian city:

"The men themselves are shrivelled, bent, and gray;
 And as they lean with pain upon their spears,
 Their brows seem furrowed deep with more than years." (P. 4.)

An "Elder of the City" addresses them and asks for their story, which they proceed to unfold. They were from Vornay, and many years previously had gone in quest of the "Earthly Paradise." They had visited previously undiscovered lands, and met with many wonderful adventures. These adventures are sufficiently interesting to the reader, though often indicating much hardship imposed upon the wanderers, who, after all their troubles, never found the "Earthly Paradise." Mr. Morris leaves his readers even more in the dark regarding this later Eden than were the characters of his narrative. It is intimated that they knew what they were after—at least we are not given to presume that they were so foolish as to undertake and suffer so much without at least the supposed prospect of an adequate reward. But whatever glorious land they expected to find, what joys they anticipated, Mr. Morris gives us no description, and even no definite hint of them. Regarding this paradisaical realm he leaves us to our imaginations, preferring, it seems, not to attempt to enlighten us with his own. He simply tells us that there is a glorious banquet, but will not even read to us the bill of fare. We are tempted to wish that he had given his book an other name and said nothing about the "Earthly Paradise."

Considering, however, not what Mr. Morris promises, or what, at least, we had a right to expect from his title-page, let us consider what he has done. There is first the "Prologue," describing the adventures of the wanderers on their strange quest, and their relation of them to their new hosts. This is introductory to a number of tales which follow, and which are related—as we learn from the "Prologue"—at "two solemn feasts" which were held every month. Accordingly, there follow two tales for every month from March to August, inclusive; those for the remaining months of the year are to be given in the second volume. Those in the volume before us are generally old stories relashed, such as "Atalanta's

Race," "The Story of Cupid and Psyche," "The Love of Alcestis," etc. As stories they are well and simply told. Mr. Morris excels in narrative and in imaginative description. There are some beautiful pictures, of which one may serve as a specimen :

"Now the road turned to the left hand
And led him through a table-land,
Windy and barren of all grain ;
But where a hollow specked the plain
The yew-trees hugged the side of it,
And 'mid them did the woodlark flit,
Or sang, well-sheltered from the wind,
And all about the sheep did find
Sweet grass, the while the shepherd's song
Rang clear as Michael sped along." (P. 123.)

Mr. Morris's style is generally diffuse, and exhibits no effort at concentrated expression ; indeed he seems rather to wish to spread his thoughts over as much paper as possible. Consequently there are few quotable passages in the volume—there is very little that one would care to commit to memory. There are some good things, however, of which we consider this one, and wish there were more like it in this and other volumes of verse :

"So beautiful and pitiless he went,
And toward him still the blossomed fruit-trees leant,
And after him the wind crept murmuring,
And on the boughs the birds forgot to sing." (P. 231.)

He is not often thoughtful or tender, but when he does become so we wish that he would think and feel more and write less, persuaded that what he *could* give us, would he but condense and intensify himself, would be more worthy of his time and ours. We like this :

"O Love! this morn when the sweet nightingale
Had so long finished all he had to say,
That thou hadst slept, and sleep had told his tale ;
And 'midst a peaceful dream had stolen away
In fragrant dawning of the first of May,
Didst thou see aught ? didst thou hear voices sing
Ere to the risen sun the bells 'gan ring ?" (P. 221.)

The stories, as we have said, are well-conceived as stories. They are, indeed, generally excellent in outline, but lacking somewhat in detail. If there were fewer of them we believe they would be better. We must confess that, on the whole, we prefer Keats's handling and development of the Grecian fables. Keats oftener falls into error than Mr. Morris ; but he also flies higher, and has the loftier poetic soul.

Mr. Morris is evidently a scholar, and very industrious. We judge that he goes to work to "build the lofty rhyme" with very much of the spirit for painstaking of a market-gardener cultivating a field of cabbages and turnips. He does not wait for inspiration, but generally gets along without it. He is usually correct in language, and tolerably so in versification. Yet he seems, on the whole, to regard quantity rather than quality, and

in his haste to complete his appointed tale of rhymes overlooks many obvious imperfections. His language is frequently crude or commonplace, as, for instance:

"Then answered they indeed
That our departing made their hearts to bleed,
But with no long words prayed us still to stay,
And I remembered me of that past day,
And somewhat grieved I felt that so it was." (P. 53.)

And again:

"My lord, the tale
Of what came after, none knoweth
Better than he who from ill death
Saved me that tide, and made me man,
My lord, the Sub-Prior Adrian.

A charcoal-burner's lad, who said
That soon his father would be dead,
And that of all things he would have
His rights, that he his soul might save." (P. 118.)

This is childish, and will not suit the requirements of the present day in what pretends to be poetry, though it would be tolerated in the poets of the era of Chaucer. There are many similar passages which we might quote. Here is one a little more silly:

"Now Cæsus, lying on his bed a-night,
Dreamed that he saw his dear son lying low,
And folk lamenting he was slain outright,
And that some iron thing had dealt the blow;
By whose hand guided he could nowise know." (P. 340.)

Again:

"So now will I let these things be
And think of some unknown delight."

By what psychological power one can think of things unknown we are not informed; the author ought to possess the secret; but if so, we fear he will let it perish with him.

His rhymes are often shockingly imperfect, and not "allowable" by the most lax rules of the compilers of rhyming dictionaries. For specimens of such we have, as above quoted, "knoweth" and "death;" on page 95, there are "lieth" and "death," and "king" and "nothing," and on page 328 we find "dazed" and "erased."

Many others could be pointed out. Of halting and utterly wretched metre, of which there are too many examples, take this specimen:

"A queen I was, what gods I knew I loved,
And nothing evil was in my thought." (P. 331.)

Mr. Morris's great error is evidently copying too closely the style of Chaucer—its defects as well as its excellences. He forgets that English poetic art, especially as respects versification, has made great advances since that early day. The classical simplicity and directness of Chaucer and other early English writers are very well, but as models of style it would be

safer to follow the later poets. At any rate, a mere imitator of early classic models is not up to the requirements of the present age.

On the whole, however, we are disposed to consider this volume a creditable one to its author. We are the more inclined to commend him because he so modestly assures us that he has not attempted what he knew he could not accomplish. He is a versifying romancer. Classed among poets, he does not take a high rank; but he is one of the best of later times in his department. He is not a Shelley, a Tennyson, nor a Mrs. Browning. He has not, and does not claim, a keen perception of the highest spiritual truths; he gives the world no new light on social questions; he has no intimate knowledge of the human heart. He has no prevailing sympathy with general humanity; he is not animated, to any lofty extent, by the spirit of *love*, which makes the greatest poets and most blesses our race; he is not impelled to give us revelations of his inner life, and we feel that he had none such to give that would greatly benefit us.

His command of idiomatic English is remarkable. His imagination is vivid, but sensuous. He has an eye for the external forms of beauty, but little perception of their animating spirit. He is no metaphysician, and no humanitarian in any lofty sense. But while he does us no great amount of good, he does us no harm. His dreams are innocent and pleasing, and his garrulous romancing may help to pass some hours which we cannot more profitably employ.

EDUCATION.

American Philological Society. New-York, November, 1868.

In no country does elementary education receive more attention than it does in our own. This is highly commendable; and we hope that the class to whom it is principally due will not relax their efforts in favor of the dissemination of knowledge. This is not sufficient, however; if we wish to rival the great enlightened nations of the Old World in intellectual culture, we must study and investigate as they do. It is idle to deny that we are much behind even the most tardy and backward of them in this respect. The standard of our higher education is far too low; even in our colleges, with few exceptions, no thoroughness is attained. Languages which should be familiar to every college student are read by those of our institutions with as much difficulty as the inscriptions on ancient monuments and coins are read by students of the corresponding grades in the great colleges of Europe. This is no new discovery on our part; we have persistently been urging the fact these nine years past, although quite aware that in doing so we were rendering ourselves quite unpopular with a certain class of professors.

We have always thought that, in order to create a taste for the higher grade of education, we must have learned societies worthy of the name—

not mere societies of mutual admiration, of which we have long had an abundance. There are materials enough for the right kind—at least sufficient to begin with. It now affords us pleasure to inform our readers that the good work has been commenced. As might have been expected from the character of that institution, the initiative has been taken by the University of the City of New-York. Early in November last, Prof. George F. Comfort, of the University, addressed notes to such as were supposed to be in favor of elevating the standard of scholarship in this country, politely inviting them to a meeting to be held in the office of the Chancellor of the New-York University, on November 13th, “to consider the feasibility of organizing and sustaining an *American Philological Society*.” Among others we were favored with an invitation ourselves, and we would most gladly have availed ourselves of it had we not been absent from the city until it was too late to attend. But a learned friend who was more fortunate than ourselves has kindly given us an account of the proceedings. The meeting was quite large and interesting—some forty of the leading linguists of this city and vicinity were present; some twenty that had promised to be present sent their regrets at being detained, and some thirty others who could not come had written that they strongly approve of the object of the meeting. This, it will be admitted even by those who are least sanguine, was a good beginning.

Dr. Ferris, the Chancellor of the University, having taken the chair made an appropriate and forcible speech, approving the design of the society, and welcoming the meeting to the University. Having been called upon for that purpose, Prof. Comfort then proceeded to give his ideas of a philological society—a task for which he had fully qualified himself by attending the sessions of the principal similar societies of Paris and Berlin, during his recent extended visit to Europe. We may remark, in passing, that all who would succeed in any great enterprise must pursue this course. Enthusiasm is not sufficient even when it is combined with profound theoretical knowledge. Even the great Richelieu did not undertake to lay the foundation of the famous French Academy until he had first travelled and visited every institution from the working of which he might learn any facts that would aid him in forming the outline of his great plan for the encouragement of the higher efforts of the intellect. Nor were the pains thus taken by Prof. Comfort without their effect on the preparatory meeting; after he had presented his views and sustained them by the results of his observation and experience, several short speeches were made approving of the undertaking. Finally, Prof. Comfort was fully authorized to make arrangements for the first meeting, and empowered to call to his aid as large a committee as he might think desirable.

We would earnestly urge our educational friends in all parts of the United States to become members of the American Philological Society. Certainly no professor of languages should fail to do so; indeed we do not believe that any qualified professors will hesitate to enroll their names, aware as they must be of the great results that have been accomplished for science by

means of philology. Even Russia, which is supposed by many to be in a state of semi-barbarism, began long since to appreciate what has been done in this way; in proof of this we need only refer to the *Mithridates* of Prof. Adelung. As for the German philologists, many of them have rendered themselves illustrious; and they will ever be remembered by all capable of appreciating their labors in the universality of their influence, as benefactors not of any one class, school, or creed, but of the human race. Have we not young men enough in our colleges and universities that have the laudable ambition, spirit, and love of knowledge, to emulate the examples of men like Klaproth, De Sacy, the two Humboldts, Bopp, Remusat, and Champollion, in elucidating the great problem of human destiny, and showing how nearly related to each other are races hitherto supposed to have nothing in common save the general outline of physical humanity?

The Life of St. Dominic, and a Sketch of the Dominican Order. With an Introduction. By Most Rev. J. S. ALEMANY, D.D. 16mo, pp. 271. New-York: P. O'Shea. 1867.

We take up this little volume, not for the purpose of either noticing or criticising it as such, but simply because the title-page reminds us of a fraternity to whom Christian civilization owes much more than most Protestants would be likely to suppose. The founder of an order which has exercised such an influence upon many generations of men in all parts of the world cannot but present an instructive study. How St. Dominic is regarded by those who fully believe in his divine mission, it is worth while to inquire, if only that we may properly understand the faith of a considerable and intelligent portion of mankind. Moreover, to properly weigh the good which it cannot be denied the subject of this memoir has accomplished, directly and indirectly, will certainly help us to a knowledge of truth.

There are those whose denominational prejudices are so strong that they seem to consider it a sin even to investigate such a topic, and an almost unpardonable crime to admit that any good could proceed from what they are pleased to regard as a hostile religious source. They will not acknowledge the possibility that, in some respects, themselves may be in error and their opponents right. With this class of mankind it is not worth while to argue. And unhappily they are still numerous; yet the true light of charity, and a disposition to investigate all proper subjects and accept all truth, are gaining ground as an evidence and product of enlightenment.

The founder of the Dominican order was a most extraordinary man. That the work he and his followers have done has greatly benefited mankind no one can doubt who considers the subject from an unprejudiced point of view. For the great cause of education the Dominicans have done and are still doing much. It is no part of our business or object to criticise their religious teachings; all we have to do with is what they have done for the advancement of general learning and science.

The unpretending work before us is an attempt to present the life of St.

Dominic in a shape to be acceptable to English readers. The work of Père Lacordaire, though acknowledged to be superior in many respects, more especially represents French opinions and interests. In addition to the life, we are here furnished with an account of the progress and work of the Dominican order.

Dominic de Guzman was born in 1170, in Old Castile. He belonged to a distinguished family, and received a university education. Entering the priesthood, he became at once distinguished for learning and zeal. He early went on a mission to convert the Albigenses, and seems to have dealt with that unfortunate people in a very Christian spirit. One of the acts for which his memory is especially revered by Catholics was the institution of the Rosary. By anti-Catholics he has been denounced as the founder of the Spanish Inquisition; but there is good reason to believe that the institution bearing that name with which he was connected was an entirely different thing from what it afterward became under royal auspices. In a report presented to the Cortes, and quoted by Père Lacordaire, we are told that "The early inquisitors encountered heresy with no other arms than those of prayer, penitence, and instruction; and this remark applies more particularly to St. Dominic, as we are assured by the Bollandists, as well as Echard and Tournon. Philip II. was the real founder of the Inquisition."*

It was at Toulouse that Dominic laid the foundation of the order which bears his name. There were but six persons engaged in the enterprise. We are told in the volume before us that "he had designed an order for preaching and teaching; which for that purpose should apply itself to the study of sacred letters, with the express object of the salvation of souls." (P. 57.)

St. Dominic visiting Rome, Pope Innocent III. took the order under his patronage, and gave it the name which it accepts as its proper designation, that of the "Brothers Preachers."†

Under the impetus of the efforts of Dominic and his co-workers the new order soon spread rapidly over France, Spain, and Portugal, and more gradually over other parts of Europe. Everywhere it was instrumental in founding religious houses, colleges, and schools. The character of its illustrious founder is variously regarded even by Catholics.‡

The miracles attributed to him are at least remarkable as narratives, whatever credence one chooses to give to them. Very few of his works have come down to us, though he is said to have written much.

The spread of the order after the death of its founder was truly wonderful. It has numbered among its members some of the most illustrious names of modern history. Among the most celebrated of these is St. Tho-

* "Ils virent aussi avec peine que les commissaires, et surtout les fongueux légat Pierre de Castellan, employaient plus souvent les bourreaux et la terreur que la persuasion. Dominique fit à cet sujet quelques observations, qui furent momentanément écoutées."—*Nouvelle Biog. Gén.*, t. xiv. p. 496.

† *Ib.*, t. xiv. p. 497.

‡ Dominique a été jugé très-diversement, tous pourtant s'accordent à lui reconnaître du zèle, du savoir, et un grand esprit de charité."—*Ib.*, t. xiv. pp. 498, 499.

mas Aquinas, whose name would confer honor upon any fraternity.* The famous Savonarola was also a member of the order.

Upon the New World and its development the Dominican order has exercised no inconsiderable influence. On the vessel which bore Columbus on his voyage of discovery were three friars, one of whom was a Dominican. The first Christian mission opened in America was established by this brotherhood. The noble Las Casas depended chiefly upon the members of this order to assist him in carrying out his humanitarian work among the aborigines. Through him the order obtained a footing in Mexico which it still retains.

After the Reformation, the order greatly languished; but within the last half-century it has revived so much in the principal Catholic countries of Europe as nearly to have regained its ancient *prestige*. In our own country, it has obtained no great foothold, but we understand that efforts are being made to establish it there. With no interest but for the spread of enlightenment, and no fears that right will not finally triumph, we are ready to welcome most heartily any genuine civilizing influence that may benefit any portion of our fellow-creatures.

Speaking of the Dominicans always reminds us of their great rivals in well-doing, the Franciscans. If a Dominican friar had the honor of sailing with Columbus in search of a new world, so had a Franciscan friar; and if the former did all in his power to aid the good Las Casas in his noble efforts to protect the Indians from the cruel exactions of the Spanish soldiery, so did the latter. Whatever may be our prejudices, we are bound to remember that the representatives of these two orders were the first to preach the religion of Christ on this continent; they were also the first Europeans who gave literary instruction to the conquered Aztecs.

But it seems that thus far the Franciscans have made more progress in the United States as educators than the Dominicans; although we understand that the latter are now energetically at work laying the foundations of several seminaries and colleges in different parts of the country. Having recently had the pleasure of conversing with one of the reverend fathers who are particularly charged with this work, we do not doubt that it is destined to prove eminently successful. We may remark, in passing, that they have an excellent opening in New York, where the Jesuits, though, in general, excellent teachers elsewhere, have utterly failed thus far. There is an order in New York, however, whose record is the reverse in this respect; for in proportion as our New York Jesuits have lagged or degenerated as educators, the Christian Brothers have made rapid strides in advance.

But we cannot dismiss the Franciscans, even in so brief a sketch as this, without giving some idea of the progress which we have observed they are making. They have established at least one institution—St. Bonaventure's College, Allegany, Cattaraugus county, New York—which, we are glad to learn, is already in a prosperous condition. We have not yet been able to

* *Ide Nat. Qn. Rev.*, No. xxiii., June, 1868, art. "Thomas Aquinas and his Writings."

visit it; but an educational friend, on whose judgment and fidelity we have implicit faith, has favored us with an outline of its history, from which we subjoin an extract, feeling satisfied that it will be more or less interesting to all who, let their religious faith be what it may, are in favor of the great cause of education:

"The late Nicholas Devereux, Esq., of Utica, having visited Rome in 1854, applied to the Irish College of St. Isidore for Fathers of the Franciscan order, to found a mission here, offering five thousand dollars and two hundred acres of land for the new convent. He wished seven fathers in order to begin the mission; but as so many could not be spared at the time, it was resolved to defer the colony for two years. The late Bishop Timon was at the time in Rome, and, from his zeal, objected to such delay. On this, some of the fathers so earnestly besought the General of the order for permission to go and restore the Franciscans in that part of the world, where their brethren had been the first apostles, that he consented. Of this new colony, Very Rev. Fr. Pamfilo da Magliano was appointed the Superior. He was, at the time of his appointment, professor of theology in the Irish Franciscan College of St. Isidore, Rome. They landed in New York on the 19th June, 1855, and soon after laid the foundation of this institution. Since, however, much has been done. The college now forms the left wing of the main building, the convent for the fathers the left, and the new church the centre. All is of brick, faced with stone. The church is one hundred and fifteen feet in length, by forty-five in width, with a cupola ninety-five feet from the floor. They have also erected a convent for the Sisters of the third order of St. Francis at a short distance from them, in which they keep boarders.

"The class of theology numbers forty, and that of philosophy twelve. Those in the junior department are more numerous.

"The buildings are situated within half a mile of the village of Allegany, and three of that of Olean; the New York and Erie Railroad passes in front, and the river Allegany flows at the rear. It is one of the most healthy locations in the county, sickness being of very rare occurrence."

We only wish there were fifty other orders, each equally animated by the same noble zeal to establish colleges and seminaries in all parts of the United States. We should think ourselves foolish if we objected to them merely because their theological views are somewhat different from our own.

Pastoral Letter of the Rt. Rev. JAMES ROOSEVELT BAILEY, Bishop of Newark. 1868.

It is not our habit to take up documents of this kind, either for notice or review; we have reviewed only one other pastoral letter in nine years; partly because they seldom fall into our hands, and partly because we examine no publication that is exclusively theological. But let what is interesting to our readers in a moral, social, or educational point of view reach us in any form, and let its author be who he may, we shall not fail to give our impressions of it. If the fact that the author is a dignitary of the Catholic Church exercised any influence upon us, it certainly would not be adverse to the merits of his production; without reading a word of it, we should think it much more likely to elicit our approbation than our censure. At the same time, if upon examination we felt that censure was deserved, we should not shrink from passing it. Fortunately, it is but rarely we have had to perform so disagreeable a duty; never twice in our life; and we are glad that, far from making the present instance the second in the unpleasant category, we feel it incumbent on us to call the attention of

our readers of all denominations to certain views and suggestions in Bishop Bailey's "Pastoral."

We have often endeavored to show ourselves, in these pages and elsewhere, that, if a certain class of our adopted citizens commit more crimes than others, the fact does not arise from any inherent turpitude, and that still less could it be fairly attributed to their religion. The real cause is well explained by Bishop Bailey as follows :

"Every Catholic heart has been obliged to mourn over the evils which have followed upon a too rapid emigration, especially that which was induced by the famine in Ireland. The names in the records of police courts and criminal calendars in our large cities tell but too plainly what has been the result with a large number of the children of those who were thus suddenly torn away from the salutary influence of home and family, and thrown, without sufficient protection, into the midst of vice and temptation." (P. 3.)

There never was a similar emigration without similar consequences. It will not do to contrast the Germans with the Irish in this respect. Assuming that more of the latter than of the former are criminals, it should be borne in mind that the Germans had not to run away from a famine ; that at no time were they so much oppressed as the Irish, and that what is perhaps still more, while from time immemorial the former had an opportunity of obtaining at least the rudiments of education, it was not until within a comparatively recent period that the latter were allowed to receive any education, even at their own expense.

We do not pretend to be pious, but we agree with the bishop that religious education should be combined with intellectual culture, at least to a certain extent ; although we can not go so far as to admit that ignorance would be better for society than education, without the knowledge of religion which could be obtained at common schools. Doubtless most of our readers would agree with us in this ; but the bishop forcibly portrays the results of the present system ; and however disagreeable the admission may be, few will deny that he is as truthful as he is eloquent in the following passage :

"But as Christians, believing that the doctrines and principles of Christianity are the necessary basis of any permanent greatness, we sorrow over the folly of a people who, whilst they are laboring to build up a magnificent edifice, are at the same time destroying the foundations on which it rests. It is absurd to talk of morality as separated from religion and positive dogma. Christian virtue requires constant self-denial, and no person or people will practise self-denial merely to satisfy a sentiment. No one who dwells upon the result of the popular education of this country, *as exhibited in commercial and business transactions, in the halls of legislation and political combinations*, can deny that the whole American mind is much more strongly imbued with the principles of Benjamin Franklin than with those of the Christian catechism ; and whilst all reflecting and religiously disposed persons are lamenting over these things, declaring that with few exceptions there is no longer any family with its sacred influences ; no longer *any children over five years old* ; no longer any obedience, or reverence, or honesty ; that our young women think only of dress and amusement, and are unfit to be wives or mothers ; that *our public men are seeking only their own interests* ; that *real statesmanship has departed from amongst us* ; that neither the men nor the principles of the older time exist any longer ; they do not point out the real cause of all this, nor attempt to correct it. It is all very well to talk about the American atmosphere and the

spirit of the country; but the American atmosphere, in this sense of the word, and the spirit of the country, result directly from the whole training of the American mind and character. Everybody is talking about education, the advantages of education, the necessity of education, and yet almost all have come to use the word in its narrowest and most imperfect meaning, as implying mere cultivation of the intellectual faculties, and even this is done in the most superficial manner, by *cramping the mind with facts, instead of making it reflect and reason*. The great majority even of those who write upon the subject take no higher view. They seem to have forgotten that education, in any proper sense of the word, must take into account the whole nature of man, and his eternal as well as temporal destiny; that *it begins with almost the very beginning of life*; that its most important lessons, those which have the greatest effect upon the future, are learned in early youth, and that if the heart and soul be not then imbued with the love and fear of God and the truths of religion, they probably never will be." (Pp. 6, 7.)

Neither Protestant nor Catholic can deny that this is sound logic. There is, in fact, nothing sectarian in it. The most eminent thinkers of all Christian denominations, including Tillotson, Burnet, Newton, and Locke, as well as Fénelon, De Sales, and De La Salle, have earnestly inculcated similar views. Nay, all the principal pagan writers, both Greek and Roman, insisted on combining religion with literature and science in the education of youth. Such as did not do so were regarded as atheists; and thus it was that Socrates was put to death.

But education is not the only subject in which all have an interest that is discussed by Bishop Bailey in the pamphlet before us. What he has said on fairs, picnics, and excursions, justly entitle him to the thanks of every good citizen. We make room, most cheerfully, for one extract more:

"Experience has shown that, on account of the large and indiscriminate character of these gatherings, [fairs, picnics, etc.,] it has become very difficult to keep them from becoming occasions of sin and scandal. In consequence of the evils caused by intemperance, we have been compelled to make very severe regulations in regard to those persons who sell drink at improper times, and to drunkards; and it seems to us hardly consistent to permit similar practices, apparently under the auspices of the church, on the occasions referred to. Having, therefore, carefully weighed the whole matter, we have come to the conclusion, on account of those abuses, *positively to prohibit for the future, the sale of all intoxicating liquors, strong wines, and beer, at all picnics, fairs, and excursions*, and we hereby require the clergy of the diocese to discountenance and to hinder their people from attending any picnic, excursion or fair, where such things are sold. If we can not have these charitable, social gatherings without making them an occasion of offending God, it would be better for us to do away with them altogether." (Pp. 14, 15.)

This is in the right spirit. Need we say that it should be published in every journal in New-York as well as Newark? It will remind many of the earnest, manly words of the late Archbishop Hughes. We readily admit that the present Catholic clergy of New York do not need any strong appeals to their sense of duty; it is also true, however, that we have no reason to think that the clergy of Newark are less pious or less conscientious than those of this city and neighborhood. But it should be remembered that an appeal of this character is much more intended to influence the people than their pastors, for the reason that it is the former who need it most. It may be that similar appeals are made at the present day in the diocese of New York, although we see or hear nothing of them. At

all events, it will be generally admitted that such are quite as much needed here as they are in Newark, or in any other city on this continent; but, unfortunately, it is not those who need the most enlightened and skilful physicians, whether for body or soul, that always have them!

HISTORY.

The History of Civilization. By AMOS DEAN, LL.D. In seven volumes. Vol. I. 8vo., pp. 695. Albany, N. Y.: Joel Munsell. 1868.

To attempt to write a history of civilization, to trace the progress of enlightenment, and to interpret correctly the causes which induced, and the developments which have marked the advancement of mankind is a daring undertaking. None but those confident of possessing the highest order of talent should undertake such a work. Even conscious ability might well shrink from the task which is worthy of a divine intellect. But a well-trained mind, possessed of great abilities, earnest in its search after truth, and willing to devote itself for a sufficient time to the severest labor, may conscientiously set itself to such a work with the assurance that, whether or not its ideal excellence be attained, the results must be highly beneficial to mankind.

Such a mind, we believe, was that of the late Professor Dean, and such a work is that of which the initial volume is before us. Professor Dean was long well and favorably known to the public for his attainments, his works of usefulness, and his excellent character. The legacy which he has left in his *History of Civilization* will still more endear him to the present and the future. A biographical memoir prefixed to the present volume gives an outline of his life.

He was a self-made man. In his youth he struggled with poverty, and by his own industry, impelled by a thirst for knowledge, he laid the foundation for his career of honor and usefulness. His history, in this respect, is the same in its general outlines with that of many of our most distinguished men and greatest benefactors. He was obliged to labor on his father's farm, attending school only in the winters, but improving every opportunity for advancement. He taught a district school to procure means for further education. He was graduated at Union College with the second honor. He then went to Albany, where he commenced his distinguished career as a lawyer. He early interested himself in educational enterprises, and was connected successively with the Albany Medical College, the Albany Law School, and the University of Iowa, and again with the Albany Law School, where he continued until his death, which occurred in January, 1868. Besides his educational lectures and addresses upon various topics, he published a work on *The Philosophy of Human Life* and one upon *Commercial Law*. His great work, however, was his *History of Civilization*, upon which he spent thirty years in writing and three

more in revision. It was not completed to his satisfaction in time for publication before his death.

Dr. Dean improves upon Bolingbroke's saying, that "History is philosophy teaching by examples," by giving us as his view that it is "God teaching by examples." This indicates the spirit which he brings to his work. Philosophy may be true or false, or it may be partially true and false. Our author goes at once to the source of all truth, Deity. He further tells us that he understands history to be "a record of human progress." "Its revelations," he says, "rest mainly upon three sources of evidence—the monument, the man, the written record." In regard to the primary law of human nature he says:

"All rational existence is given subject to one condition, to the operation of one uniform law—the law of progression. The man must walk forth from the boy; the civilized from the savage. The man advances by a successive separation and development of his powers; humanity by a successive reparation and development of her elements." (P. 7.)

Proceeding to the subject of ethnography, Professor Dean develops his ideas and displays his erudition in a satisfactory manner. He has no pet theories, like the brilliant Buckle; announces no startling proposition like that of the last-named author concerning the connection of volcanoes with the development of the poetic talent. We feel that he is desirous, not to excite admiration for his own originality, but to arrive at reliable truth. We are especially impressed with the common-sense character of his views and of his handling of the subject. Here is one of his general principles:

"One conclusion very generally, if not universally, arrived at is that men, although distributed into ethnic diversities, have nevertheless everywhere and at all times composed but one race; that the human species is distinct from every other, and includes within it all men of human form and language. The widest generalizations of ethnology would perhaps exclude any other conclusion." (P. 22.)

Tracing the development of languages, we cannot but admire his lucidity of method and accuracy of statement, but have not space to follow him. Concerning the dead languages and the causes of their disuse, we have this striking statement:

"When a language becomes stereotyped by its literature, and thus loses its capability of change, its natural life ceases, and its existence becomes merely artificial. Hence the so-called classical languages have become dead, being like the stagnant lakes by the side of great rivers, or like the frozen surface of a river, brilliant and smooth, but stiff and cold. They have yielded up their life as a penalty for their greatness. They are embalmed in the forms of their own highly-wrought grammar, but their vitality has gone into living dialects." (Pp. 30, 31.)

The changes which have taken place in the physique of races is an interesting subject. For instance, we are told that the ancient Gauls or Celts were "tall of stature, fair, and red-haired," etc., while the modern type "is a small frame, with dark hair, swarthy complexion, and darkish

or black eyes." (P. 33.) The ancient Germans had universally red hair and blue eyes, while their modern successors exhibit considerable variety in more respects. The Slavonians show much diversity of complexion and other physical features in different countries, thus proving that the same race becomes changed in personal appearance when subjected to different climatic conditions.

Prof. Dean finds no difficulty in dealing with the question—which has excited so much contention—of harmony between divine revelation and the discoveries of science. On this point he says :

"The genealogies given us since the time of Abraham have been obviously condensed. Why may we not suppose that the antediluvian and ante-Abrahamic genealogies have also been condensed? St. Matthew omitted names from the ancestry of our Lord for the purpose of equalizing the three great periods over which he passes. Moses may have done the same in order to bring out seven generations from Adam to Enoch, and ten from Adam to Noah. Should future discoveries bring to light evidence of a higher antiquity of the race than has hitherto been supposed, it would not impeach the authority of Scripture. As the sacred record does not profess to teach chronology, but only to state a few facts of early history, the generalities under which it states them are sufficient to admit large portions of time to be properly embraced within them." (Pp. 46, 47.)

There are, according to Prof. Dean, six great elements of humanity—industry, religion, society, government, philosophy, and art—and he gives us this account of their several natures :

"Industry is founded on the idea of the useful, religion on that of the holy or divine, society on that of the agreeable, government on that of the just, philosophy on that of the true in itself, and art on that of the beautiful or sublime." (P. 63.)

Concerning each of these elements he gives us a thoughtful statement. "Society," he says, "is the dispenser of reputation. It can enforce its own decrees by its own peculiar sanction. It rewards its favorites by conferring upon them a desirable reputation. It punishes its delinquents or enemies by dispensing to them the miseries of a blasted name." (P. 65.)

The style of Prof. Dean is always careful and lucid, and generally eloquent. It exhibits much study and elaboration. He often rises to heights of true poetic beauty. His illustrations are frequently striking and beautiful. We had marked several passages of this character, but have room for only this one :

"The volume containing this inspiration could not pass away. The lays of its divinely inspired poets have therefore come down to us. We have the songs of Moses, and of Deborah, and of Hannah; those of David, the thanksgiving of Hezekiah, the book of Job, a great part of the prophet Isaiah, and the Lamentations of Jeremiah. In poetry was chanted the song of praise and thanksgiving; and, not unfrequently, in numbers flowed forth the soul of prophecy. In these works of the inspired poets are found sentiments the most pure, descriptions the most sublime, and conceptions the most beautiful and grand, that are anywhere to be met with in any language. We undoubtedly fail in preserving in the translation the full

beauty that was contained in the original; and yet where shall we look for more expressive figures, or more splendid imagery, or vaster conceptions, or more truly beautiful and sublime thoughts than to Moses, and to Isaiah, and to David? No one but an Hebrew poet ever thought of 'making the clouds his chariot,' or of describing him as 'walking upon the wings of the wind.'" (P. 628.)

What gives us especial confidence in Prof. Dean is the evidence he exhibits of a firm religious faith. He keeps constantly in view the divine light of inspiration, and never allows a mania for speculation to lead him into by-paths of error. In this, particularly, he exhibits his superiority to Buckle. Mooted questions which cannot be harmonized with revelation by the light we have, he does not discuss. He does not attempt to decide between the opposing theories of development, according to the Darwinian interpretation, and of special creations—whether God acts fitfully in bringing new forms into existence, or constantly as the ever-animating spirit of all nature. Judging from the volume before us, the work is a praiseworthy evidence and faithful account of the progress of civilization.

Symbolism; or, Exposition of the Doctrinal Differences between Catholics and Protestants, as evinced by their Symbolical Writings. By ADAM MÖHLER, D.D., Dean of Würzburg and late Professor of Theology at the University of Munich. Translated from the German, with a Memoir of the Author. Preceded by an Historical Sketch of the State of Protestantism and Catholicism in Germany for the last Hundred Years. By JAMES BURTON ROBERTSON, Esq., translator of F. Schlegel's *Philosophy of History*. Third Edition, 8vo, pp. 504. New-York: The Catholic Publication House.

A profound work, exhibiting extensive research and a philosophic mind. It is not so much controversial or polemical, as historical and critical, and is thus calculated to reach a larger number, and to be considered in a better frame of mind. It does not directly attack the tenets it opposes, but seems to aim to present all sides of a controverted doctrine fairly and lucidly. Of course the conclusions reached are always favorable to the Catholic religion, in whose interest the work was written. Yet these conclusions seldom, if ever, appear to be forced, and are often left to be inferred—the author pursuing the suggestive, the better method, rather than the controversial.

Dr. Möhler was well known in Germany as one of the most learned Catholic divines of his time. The substance of this work was originally delivered in lectures upon the differences between Catholics and Protestants. It was published at an important epoch of religious change and controversy in Germany, and immediately became the text-book of the Catholic disputants. Everywhere it excited attention, and gave rise to controversy between opposing sects. The ablest Protestants found that they had in Dr. Möhler a foeman worthy of their steel, and one whom it would not do to ignore. In this respect, from whatever stand-point we choose to view the questions involved, the publication was undoubtedly productive of good.

It set to work the best Protestant minds to bring forward their tenets and to defend them in the ablest manner.

In another respect the work was beneficial. Realism, mysticism, or refined sensuality, and a more daring infidelity, through the advocacy of such men as Kant, Strauss, Hegel, and Goethe, had gained an alarming ascendancy in Germany. German literature of the eighteenth century, wonderful as it is, rests generally upon no enduring basis of faith. It represents a transition period in religious belief, and was, to some extent, the product of the volcanic upheaval of old systems. Brilliant as are the results of that eruption, it is not desirable that the human mind should remain in this chaotic condition. The masses of the people demand a fixed faith; that society must be governed by unalterable laws. It has been often said any religion is better than none, and certainly it is better for men to have a firm faith which teaches rectitude of conduct, although that belief contain errors, than to be guided by no certain rules. A belief in a higher Power who controls our eternal destinies, and who requires us to follow certain moral laws, exercises the best influence over the conduct of men. Whoever assists to restore or quicken a religious belief which produces good social results is a public benefactor. In reawakening religious faith we believe Dr. Möhler to have had a great influence, not only for the benefit of his own church, but for all.

Speaking of the degrees of enlightenment concerning points of faith between Catholics and Protestants, we were surprised to read the following in Dr. Möhler's preface: "How much are Catholics put to shame by the very great activity which Protestants display in this matter." (P. xx.) We had supposed the contrary to be the case among those of the two denominations of similar general enlightenment, but accept the doctor's statement that it was not so with those he knew best.

The Protestant and Catholic dogmas upon the various points of faith are stated with great clearness, and, we believe, with the intention of fairness. Of the general character of Catholic teachings, according to Dr. Möhler, this extract will give an idea:

"As they found the dogmas on which they enlarge, which they explain or illustrate, *already preexisting*, we must in their labors accurately discriminate between their special and peculiar opinions, and the common doctrines declared by the Church, and received from Christ and the Apostles. As these doctrines existed *prior* to those opinions, so they can exist *after* them, and can therefore be scientifically treated *without* them, and quite *independently* of them. This distinction between individual opinion and common doctrine presupposes a very strongly constituted community, based at once on history, on life, on tradition, and is only possible in the Catholic Church. But, as it is possible, so also it is necessary; for unity in its essence is not identity." (P. 7.)

Of the Protestant system we have this opinion:

"From what has been said, it follows that such a distinction as we speak of between dogma and opinion must be extremely difficult for Protestants. As their whole original system is only an individuality exalted into a gene-

reality; as the way in which the Reformers conceived certain dogmas, and personally thought and lived in them, perfectly coincided, in their opinion, with those dogmas themselves; so their followers have inherited of them an irresistible propensity everywhere to identify the two things." (P. 8.)

It would be useless (in so brief an article) to attempt to analyze Dr. Mohler's statement of the tenets of the opposing systems of which he treats. All the doctrines of religious belief are thoroughly stated. His manner is candid, and his treatment of his opponents is, we believe, intended to be charitable. There is no effort at satire, no symptom of a desire to have the best of the argument at all hazards. Indeed, the work can scarcely be said to be argumentative, but is rather, as we have before observed, historical. The dogmas treated of are principally those respecting the primitive state of man and the origin of evil, original sin, justification, faith, good works, the sacraments, doctrine of the church, and the church in the next world in its connection with the church militant. His statements of the Catholic doctrine of purgatory and invocation of the saints, will perhaps be as interesting as anything we can extract for our readers:

"This custom, which we cannot absolutely abandon, for we are impelled to its exercise by all the power of faith and of love, is not only confirmed by the usages of the most ancient nations, but may be proved to have been authorized by the practice of the primitive church; and is accordingly revered by us as an apostolic tradition. But, moreover, as to the mode of punishment, and the place which purgatory occupies, the church teaches nothing further; for she has, on this point, received no special revelations; and when we use the expression, purifying fire, we employ it only in the usual figurative sense.

"The setting up of the saints by the church as patterns for religious and moral imitation, connected with the doctrine of their intercession in our behalf with God, and of the corresponding invocation of their aid on our parts, constitutes the principle of veneration of saints, which is in the same way related to the supreme worship as the mutual relation existing between creatures is to the state of dependence of them all on their common *Creator and Lord*. Virtuous creatures look with love and reverence on those of their body who were eminently endowed by God, and, in virtue of their love implanted within them, they wish each other all good, and lift up their hands in each other's behalf unto God, who, rejoicing in the love which emanates from himself and binds his creatures together, hears their mutual supplications, in case they be worthy of his favor, and out of the fulness of his power satisfies them; and this no creature is able to accomplish. Moreover, if we are to worship Christ, we are forced to venerate his saints." (Pp. 344-5.)

What we say of this book by way of commendation is in reference to its usefulness if rightly employed. Protestants as well as Catholics may derive benefit from its clear and honest statements of their several dogmas. The former can at least rely upon its accuracy in respect to Catholic tenets, and we think they will find their own doctrines generally stated with fairness. Those who are indifferent to dogmatic differences will find the volume useful for the information it conveys regarding the opposing religious systems.

The Forty-fourth Annual Report of the American Sunday-School Union. Presented at the Annual Meeting, May, 1868. Philadelphia: Sunday-School Union.

The report opens with a memorial and testimonials to the worth of Frederick A. Packard, Corresponding Secretary of the Society, and for thirty-nine years Editor of its publications. The decease of four other Managers is also reported as having occurred during the past year.

The amount of books distributed by the Society during the year embraced in this report was \$390,290.56, being a considerable increase over any former year. The contributions to the missionary department for the year were \$89,029.78; legacies during the year, \$7069.65; interest on book fund, \$2406; total for the year, \$98,595.43.

The total annual expenditures were \$117,986.89, making an excess of expenditures of \$19,481.56. Add to this the excess of expenditures of the former year of \$10,105.61, and the indebtedness of the missionary department is shown to be \$29,587.19, which is, doubtless, rightly characterized as an "incubus" upon such a Society.

In regard to the work done, the grand total of statistics is a very satisfactory exhibit, indicating that the Society has not been spending money for nothing. For instance, the total number of schools organized and aided is, for 1867-8, 8331; the number of scholars in the same, 468,923; amount of donations to the same, \$17,787.68; copies of the Scriptures distributed, 9082; families visited, 28,632; miles travelled, 396,501; addresses delivered, 9457. The report adds: "If to the above we could add the number of souls hopefully converted in connection with the schools, of churches grown out of them, of sanctuaries erected, etc., etc., these statistics would be more complete and more valuable."

The details of the Society's missionary work are very interesting, but we have not space to follow them. They embrace a vast field, including nearly every State and territory in the Union. In the South, where such work would seem to be especially needed, the Society has done much, and we are assured that, had it more means, it would have done much more. The great want would seem to be missionaries, of which, we are informed, the Society has sixteen, where two hundred, at least, might find constant and profitable employment. The Rev. Mr. McCullough seems, in this department, to have done an almost incredible amount of work.

The report concludes with a summary of the work done and what seems to be indicated as necessary to be done.

Cradle Lands. By LADY HERBERT. 16mo, pp. 332. New-York: The Catholic Publication Society. 1869.

Mr. Kehoe, the general agent of the Catholic Publication Society, is entitled to much credit for the excellent taste he displays in getting up its books. The volume now before us is a very good specimen, and we have lately seen several others, bearing the imprint of the society, which compare favorably, in typography, paper, and binding, with the best samples of American book-making.

The contents of Lady Herbert's book are eminently worthy of the chaste and handsome style in which it is issued; and we see no reason why Protestants, as well as Catholics, should not derive both pleasure and profit from its perusal. The authoress makes no high pretensions in introducing her book. She merely informs us that it is the result of a tour through Egypt and Syria in search of health, and that she hopes it "may be of interest to those who have already trodden in the same steps, and induce others to follow them," etc.

That this modest hope will be realized we have not the least doubt. The following titles of some of the chapters will give the reader an idea of what may be expected in the book, namely, Alexandria, Cairo, and Upper Egypt; From Cairo to Jerusalem; Jerusalem and the Holy Sepulchre; Carmel and Beyrout; Damascus and Lebanon; Asia Minor and Ephesus, etc. The reputation of Lady Herbert as an author, her taste for antiquarian research, and her fervent but cheerful piety, afford a sufficient guarantee of her ability to invest such topics with a lively interest. The attractiveness of *Cradle Lands*, as a Christmas-book, is enhanced not a little by several original illustrations of considerable artistic merit.

POLITICAL ECONOMY AND ARCHITECTURE.

Report of the Secretary of the Treasury on the State of the Finances for the Year 1868. 8vo. pp. 69. Washington, 1868.

We are sorry that this important and able paper did not reach us a little earlier, for it is not of the class that ought to be disposed of, by any public writer, in a few brief paragraphs. Could such a report have been written for our guidance by some distinguished political economist of England, France, Germany, or Italy, Congress and the press would have vied with each other in doing him honor. As it is, the author will probably receive more abuse than approbation; more ill-will than gratitude will be evinced toward him. This is all the more certain now when he is likely to retire from office, as if public opinion in the United States were based on the ancient Locran precept, "He has done his work well; if you cannot scandalize him, at least insult him!"

It is a remarkable fact that none of our public men receive ruder treatment at the hands of a certain class of our journalists than those whose abilities attract the attention and elicit the praise of those who may be called the leaders of public opinion in Europe. There has certainly been no exception in the case of Mr. McCulloch; statesmen and eminent political economists of England, France, and Switzerland, have vied with each other in awarding high praise to his financial system; but strangely enough, in proportion as this has been done abroad, has he had all kinds of abusive, depreciatory epithets applied to him at home.

We are glad to see that all this does not induce our manly and straight-

forward Secretary to swerve in the slightest degree from the course which he thinks best calculated to promote the public interest; nor does it seem to disturb his equanimity or mar his good humor. In the report now before us he persists in maintaining those views which have given his system a distinctive character and a European fame, and the soundness of which is proved by the experience of the most enlightened nations and the testimony of the most eminent statesmen; but far from evincing any arrogance in doing so, he adduces his arguments with the courteous diffidence of a subordinate officer addressing his superiors in knowledge as well as in rank. Indeed, there are very few subordinate officers at the present day capable of maintaining their views so modestly; whereas there is no more important position in the gift of any government, republican or monarchical, than that of the manager of its finances; and accordingly it is one that has been held, as we have shown on former occasions, by the most eminent statesmen.

Our readers have been familiar for years with our views on paper money; we need hardly say, therefore, that we fully concur with Mr. McCulloch in the following:

"If there is any question in finance or political economy which can be pronounced settled by argument and trial, it is, that inconvertible and depreciated paper money is *injurious to public and private interests*, a positive *political and financial evil*, for which there can be but one justification or excuse, to wit: a temporary necessity arising from an unexpected and pressing emergency; and it follows, consequently, that such a circulation should only be tolerated until, without a financial shock, it can be withdrawn or made convertible into specie. If an irredeemable bank-note circulation is an evidence of *bankrupt or badly managed banking institutions*, which should be deprived of their franchises, or compelled to husband and make available their resources in order that they may be prepared at the earliest day practicable to take up their dishonored obligations, *why should not an irredeemable government currency be regarded as an evidence of bad management of the national finances, if not of national bankruptcy?*" (P. 3.)

This is a question which those in favor of paper money will find it difficult to answer; and there are several other questions in the same pamphlet to which abuse can be much more easily applied than sound logic. After discussing the subject at some length, Mr. McCulloch proceeds to make suggestions, which, we doubt not, will also excite the indignation of a certain class of political economists:

"The Secretary still adheres to the opinion so frequently expressed by him, that a reduction of the paper circulation of the country until it appreciated to the specie standard was the true solution of our financial problem. But as this policy was emphatically condemned by Congress, and it is now too late to return to it, he recommends the following measures as the next best calculated to effect the desired result:

"Agreements for the payment of coin seem to be the only ones, *not contrary to good morals*, the performance of which cannot be enforced in the courts. 'Coin contracts' executed before the passage of the legal-tender acts, as well as those executed since, are satisfied in all the States except California by the payment of the amounts called for in depreciated notes. *This shackle upon commerce, this check upon our national progress*, this restriction upon individual rights, should no longer be continued. If it be admitted that the condition of the country during the war, and for a time after its close, created a necessity for laws and decisions

making promissory notes (fluctuating in value according to the result of battles and of speculative combinations) the medium in which contracts should be discharged, this necessity no longer exists. Steps should now be taken to give stability to business and security to enterprise; and to this end SPECIFIC CONTRACTS TO BE EXECUTED IN COIN should at once be legalized." (Pp. 5, 6.)

No honest man who knows anything of political economy will deny this. The moral aspects of the case are not overlooked by the Secretary; he shows that under existing circumstances we have no right to be surprised at the systematic frauds by which the government is deprived of so much of its revenue:

"The people are compelled to take as money what is not money; and becoming demoralized by its constantly changing value, they are in danger of losing that sense of honor in their dealings with the government and with each other which is necessary for the well-being of society. It is vain to expect on the part of the people a faithful fulfilment of their duties to the government as long as the government is faithless to its own obligations; nor will those who do not hesitate to defraud the public revenues long continue to be scrupulous in their private business." (P. 4.)

There are not many public functionaries who have the manliness to utter such truths as these; if there were, the public morals would not be at the low ebb they are. But unfortunately there are those who have not a little influence that seem to have no particular objection to this state of things; there are far too many who are very willing to be demoralized as long as it is made worth their while "to take as money what is not money." Be it remembered, that what is in reality not money, as the Secretary says, to the public at large, serves certain parties as well as the finest gold; and is it not perfectly natural that this class are entirely satisfied with our present currency, and for the same reason, entirely dissatisfied with those who would set it aside? The greatest injury that ever was inflicted on a country has enriched some individuals of its inhabitants; this is true even of invasion and conquest; and those who are enriched view the whole matter in a very different light from the people at large who are ruined by the same means.

It is worthy of remark that precisely the same class who are in favor of retaining our paper currency for an indefinite period, are also in favor of sending our bonds to Europe on as large a scale as possible. We can not say, however, that there is anything strange in this; such a coincidence is to be expected; but one theory is as false as the other, and, if carried to the same extent, quite as injurious. After discussing the transfer or export question at some length, and pointing out its real tendency, the Secretary proceeds to sum up as follows:

"These manifest truths indicate how important it is that the debt of the United States should be a home debt; so that the money which is collected for taxes may be paid to our citizens in the way of interest. In fact, a large national debt to be tolerable must of necessity be a home debt. A nation that owes heavily must have its own people for creditors. If it does not, the debt will be a dead weight upon its industry, and will be quite likely to force it eventually into bankruptcy." (P. 11.)

This accords with the experience of every nation of Europe that has had

a large debt to pay; but there are many whose interest it is to increase the number of our foreign debtors, on the same principle that there are many who are quite disgusted at the idea of discarding our paper currency, or resuming specie payments. It is natural enough that one class as well as the other should object to any interference with the stock market on the part of the manager of our finances, and even try to make it appear that such interference implies official malfeasance. But this neither frightens Mr. McCulloch nor excites his anger; he disposes of the whole affair in a manner that will satisfy every intelligent mind. We must conclude our extracts with the Secretary's excellent remarks on this subject:

"Complaint has been made that, in the administration of the Treasury Department since the war, there has been too much of interference with the stock and money market. This complaint, when honestly made, has been the result of a *want of reflection*, or of imperfect knowledge of the financial condition of the government. The transactions of the Treasury have, *from necessity*, been connected with the stock and money market of New York. If the debt after the close of the war had been a funded debt, with nothing to be done in relation to it but to pay the accruing interest, or if business had been conducted on a specie basis, and consequently been free from the constant changes to which it has been and must be subject—as long as there is any considerable difference between the legal and commercial standard of value—the Treasury could have been managed with entire independence of the stock exchange or the gold room. Such, however, was not the fact. More than one half of the national debt, according to the foregoing exhibits, consisted of temporary obligations, which were to be paid in lawful money, or converted into bonds; and there was in circulation a large amount of *irredeemable promises constantly changing in their convertible value*. The Secretary, therefore, *could not be indifferent to the condition of the market, nor avoid connection with it*, for it was in fact with the market he had to deal. He would have been happy had it been otherwise. If bonds were to be sold to provide the means for paying the debts that were payable in lawful money, it was a matter of great importance to the Treasury that the price of bonds should not be depressed by artificial processes. If the seven-thirty notes were to be converted into five-twenty bonds, it was equally important that they should sustain such relations to each other, in regard to prices, that conversions would be effected. If bonds were at a discount, the notes would be presented for payment in legal tenders; and these could only be obtained by further issues, or the sale of some kind of securities. For three years, therefore, *the state of the market has been a matter of deep solicitude to the Secretary*. If he had been indifferent to it, or failed carefully to *study the influences that controlled it*, or had hesitated to exercise the power with which Congress had clothed him, for successfully funding the temporary debt by conversions or sales, *he would have been false to his trust*. The task of converting a thousand millions of temporary obligations into a funded debt, on a market constantly subject to natural and artificial fluctuations, without depressing the prices of bonds, and without disturbing the business of the country, however it may be regarded now, when the work has been accomplished, was, while it was being performed, an exceedingly delicate one. It is but *simple justice* to say, that its successful accomplishment is in a great measure attributable to the *judicious action* of the Assistant Treasurer at New York, Mr. Van Dyck."

So much for the great charge of "stock-jobbing" against the Secretary; it was something like pretending to brand the Attorney-General as a spy for making such inquiries as are necessary to detect and punish crime! It will be admitted by all unprejudiced men who have any knowledge of the subject, that no similar tribute was ever more eminently deserved than that paid by the Secretary to the efficiency and integrity of Mr. Van Dyck. To this we have only room to add that the day will come when it will be ac-

knowledgeed by all, in and out of Congress, capable of judging, that our finances were never managed with so comprehensive a sagacity or so much statesmanlike ability as they have been during the last four years; and we very much mistake the character of General Grant if he is not capable of appreciating and remembering the fact.

The Architect and Builder's Guide; an elaborate Description of all the Public, Commercial, Philanthropic, Literary, and Ecclesiastical Buildings already Constructed and about to be Erected next Spring, etc., etc., etc. By JOHN W. KENNION. 8vo. New York: Fitzpatrick & Hunter. 1868.

This is one of the most curious specimens of bookmaking we have seen in a long time. If old Vitruvius could rise from his grave, after a sleep of nearly two thousand years, and read it, we fear he would say that, although we have very respectable architects in America in the nineteenth century, their works are very awkwardly described. Yet there is a considerable amount of interesting information in the "Guide." Among an immense quantity of chaff there is some genuine wheat.

The title is somewhat flashy, but it is by no means more so than the general contents. This we should not have wondered at; indeed, we should rather have expected it, did not the gentleman who calls himself the "author" inform us that he is also the author of many other works, including "Hints to Tutoresses," "Death and the Hereafter," "The Importance of the Classics," etc., etc. Surely, thought we, on discovering so brilliant an array, if we have not a Vitruvius of our own at last, we have at least a Montfaucon, a Belzoni, or a Grobert! On proceeding with our researches for some time, however, the conclusion we arrive at is, that if, after all, we have not even the ghost of any of those personages, our architects give us structures to describe that would have been worthy of the graphic genius of the best of them.

We confess we are selfish enough to be all the better pleased at this, from the fact that the most magnificent edifices noticed in the "Guide" are those of our own patrons and friends; for we have the honor of ranking in that category the principal officers of the Park Bank, Steinway & Sons, Gunther & Sons, Solomon & Sons, Devlin & Co., Lord & Taylor, the Brothers Jackson, of Fifth Avenue, Madison Square, etc. If the editorial proprietors of the Herald and Times edifices are not our patrons at present, we have no reason to doubt that they are still our friends.

Without having yet concluded our second decade in this city, we have lived long enough in it to have observed all these establishments gradually expand themselves to their present colossal dimensions—until all possess, to a greater or less extent, a representative character—each confessedly occupying the highest rank in its peculiar sphere. The Park Bank was the first institution of the kind in which we ever had an account, and we intend it to be the last. We do not pretend to have ever had money enough to make it an object to any bank to attend to our little checks. Our deposits have never been large; but the smallest was our first, made eight years ago.

and we shall never forget the kind, courteous manner in which it was received by Mr. J. L. Worth, the present accomplished and esteemed cashier of the institution. He took as much pains with our bagatelle of *un-current* money as if we had deposited many thousands, although quite aware that it was by no means certain we could make any new deposit before exhausting the original one. Indeed, we had grave doubts on the subject ourselves, from the experience of the past; but if we had any tinge of superstition in us, we should believe that there was luck in dealing with the Park Bank; for, whatever may be our fortune in the future, we have never been without more or less money from that day to this. Numbers of our friends have assured us that their experience of the Park Bank has been equally agreeable and encouraging; and all concur in the opinion that, while every officer of the bank, from the highest to the lowest, is courteous and obliging, those who have contributed most to the great popularity and distinguished success of the institution are Mr. J. L. Worth and Mr. E. Kellogg Wright.

It would be superfluous for us to describe, at this late day, the magnificent white marble edifice which forms the most conspicuous and beautiful evidence of this success. Our readers at a distance have seen various descriptions of it in the newspapers, while those of New York and vicinity would have been sufficiently familiar with it had no description of it been published. Suffice it for us, therefore, to say that there is no bank building on this continent that approaches it in strength, capaciousness, elegance, and beauty. It has several excellent features that are peculiar, but the *tout ensemble* constitute a veritable model in all the essential requisites of a great banking-house. Its network of iron safes surpasses the similar contrivances of the Bank of England at London; and we doubt whether it is equalled by those of the Imperial Bank of France at Paris. There is this important difference, however, that while the safes or vaults of the Banks of England and France are for the exclusive use of the bankers and their favorites, those of the representative bank of the Western world are as much within the reach of those of our citizens who have occasion for such, as the boxes of the general Post Office.

As the Park Bank is our model banking-house, so is the establishment of Steinway & Sons our model piano-house. The superiority of the Steinway pianos above all other American instruments is as generally acknowledged by all competent, unprejudiced judges, as the unrivalled sublimity of Niagara Falls compared to all other cataracts.* Then, where is the

* There is only one American house that even pretends to compete with the Steinways; and with what success it is done in this solitary case is best shown by the report recently published of the International Jury of the last Paris Exposition, from which we subjoin a brief extract, only premising that since this verdict was given the Messrs. Steinway have made important improvements in their instruments: "The pianos of Messrs. Steinway & Sons are equally endowed with the splendid sonority of their competitor. They also possess the seizing largeness and volume of tone, *hitherto unknown, which fills the greatest space.* Brilliant in the treble, singing in the middle, and formidable in the bass, this sonority acts with *irresistible power* on the organs of hearing. In regard to *expression, delicate shading, variety of accentuation*, the instruments of Messrs. Steinway have over those of their American competitor an advantage which cannot be contested."

American fur-warehouse equal to that of Gunther & Sons, in richness, variety, and elegance? The house of Solomon & Sons surpasses that of any similar establishment in New York, as much as the great temple of the royal Solomon surpassed all other temples. Another distinguished illustration of industry, intelligence, and perseverance combined with rigid honesty and urbanity is the establishment of Devlin & Co. What disinterested person, competent to judge, has questioned the superiority of this house, in its own wide and useful sphere, for twenty years past? Who can do so at the present moment? There may be another dry-goods house or two in New York more extensive than that of Lord & Taylor; but certain it is that there is none anywhere more honorable, none more worthy of its prosperity and success. A distinction equally enviable is enjoyed, in their sphere, by the Brothers Jackson. Who has ever found "foreign ingredients" introduced into *their* teas, sugars, etc.? Who has found their parcels lighter than the figures marked on them?

We trust we may be excused for taking some pride in recording the success of such patrons, and noticing the somewhat remarkable fact that there is now not one of them who does not transact his business in a white marble edifice of palatial dimensions and beauty. What we are particularly proud of is, that men of this distinguished grade are our *exclusive* patrons, and always have been. We may be permitted to add that we have another class of patrons of whom we are, if possible, still prouder than of our merchant princes, namely, presidents and chancellors of colleges, universities, and seminaries, male and female. But altogether independently of the gratitude, which we readily admit we feel, to those who encourage and cheer us, in our labors, by their patronage, we think it should interest all—especially young men—to understand what are the chief means by which great establishments are built up, and invested with an honorable and enduring *prestige*.

Artificial Stone, Stucco, Mastic Cement, etc. Chicago: Hazlitt & Reed.
1868.

A pamphlet bearing this title, which happened to fall into our hands some days since, has interested us not a little; and, supposing that its subject might interest some of our readers still more, we have concluded to give some idea of its contents. We learn from it that a new building material, the principal elements of which are sand and gravel, has been invented and patented by Mr. George A. Frear, of Chicago, and that eminent chemists and architects, as well as intelligent editors, bear testimony to its remarkable durability, etc. The following extract may be regarded as the essence of all that is yet known on the subject:

"We have subjected these stones to the severest tests of frost and heat, to determine their value as a building stone in resisting atmospheric influences. Various artificial and chemical tests have also been made, and we assure the public that they are impervious to water, and exposure to the weather only tends to harden them. We believe this is the only substance of which a thoroughly fire-proof building can be constructed, for it is well known that ordinary limestone or brick are

but little protection against fire. So far as durability is concerned, we believe it will outlast native stone. Who has not either seen or read of the artificial stone made by the old Romans three thousand years ago, and now so hard as to absolutely resist all attempts to cut it with steel? And, if it has once been done, may it not be accomplished again?"

It is proper to say that, had this come to us without any guarantee of its truthfulness, we would have taken no notice of it; but finding the name of Mr. Charles Holland, Secretary of the Provident Life and Investment Insurance Company, pledged to the genuineness of the new material, we know from experience that we ought to have no suspicion of wrong, and we give our opinion accordingly.

MISCELLANEOUS.

Report of the Citizens' Association of New York. New York, December 1st, 1868. 8vo, pp. 48.

We are reminded of a famous classical mountain by this Report—that which was a long time in labor and finally brought forth a ridiculous mouse. The Association evidently depends much on its style of typography for making an impression on those of our citizens who have money to spare and are a little credulous withal, for it does much of its boasting in capital letters. The account it gives of its exploits has far too close a resemblance to that of the truant school-boy who went to the forest on a shooting excursion. First, he fired at a lion, but somehow or other his majesty was not in the least hurt. His next mark was a bear, but Bruin seemed rather to like the noise, and our young sportsman took to his heels and cried lustily for his mother. After about a dozen of adventures of this kind, he was returning home, and, fearing the jeers of his companions, he fired at a tame duck that had formerly lost her right foot; this time he succeeded, and he brought home the fowl in triumph, and tried to palm it off as genuine game!

Our readers will bear us testimony that we have been very willing to aid the Citizens' Association in accomplishing any part of the great results which it so solemnly promised. We have transferred to our pages the pith of many of its charges against certain public functionaries, in the form of extracts, making such comments as the circumstances suggested. This we did under the impression that the charges were true, or at least that the Association honestly believed them to be so. With the same feeling we sent our messenger this morning to the secretary, requesting that he would favor us with copies of any new documents he might have at hand; and what we have received is the Report before us.

We have much respect for Mr. Peter Cooper; we have no doubt that he means well; but the present document convinces us that he permits himself to be used as a cat's paw by persons who have objects of their own to gain. More than once the Report informs us, in capital letters, that "the Association takes no part in politics," etc.; yet it has nothing but censure or abuse for one party, and nothing but eulogy or admiration for the other! As to the power of the Association, we are expected to believe that

it is almost boundless; the State Assembly and Senate, and our metropolitan press, are equally obedient to its will without asking any questions. It has only to hint its wishes; and (with the exception that the "corrupt" party sometimes succeed in their diabolical antagonism to everything that is good) straightway Assembly men, senators, and editors, hasten to carry out those wishes.

Will it be believed that the two greatest exploits the Association has to boast of are the defeat of a bill that contemplated appropriating \$500,000 *for the relief of the poor* of this great and wealthy metropolis, and the defeat of another bill that contemplated to expend \$500,000 in the erection of a building on Reservoir Square *for the use of the New-York Free College*? It seems to us that this needs no comment.

Does any one acquainted with New York doubt that there are thousands of honest working men, with families depending on their labor, out of employment at this moment? If any such there be, we can assure him that for many years there has not been so much destitution in our city.

But is it a waste of money to erect a new building for the use of the New York Free College? Is the building now used for that purpose half large enough for the number of students crowded into it? We answer that it is certainly not more than *half* the necessary size, if so much.

But it seems that only the "worthy poor" should be relieved. (P. 6.) The unworthy poor should be allowed to starve, rather than that our taxes should be raised. As to the new building that some of the corrupt ones proposed to build in Reservoir Square, we are informed that "the present building is *sufficiently commodious for all proper college purposes*," etc. (P. 10.) If it were larger it is hard to say what conduct the professors as well as the students might be guilty of; but huddled together as both are now, in crowds, they can hardly indulge in any serious vice without being found out!

The Comptroller of New York must necessarily be corrupt, it seems—he is fraudulent *ex officio*! (Vide p. 6.) We expect to see a long series of "charges" against him very soon; but we imagine they will end pretty much like those against his predecessor, Brennan, whose case, curiously enough, is given in the Report before us, as one of the great exploits of the Association.

The Sheriff, too, may expect a Letter very soon, for lately he has not hung or dispossessed half as many as he ought! But why not send a communication to Recorder Hackett? Perhaps it is not generally known to our readers that the Recorder had the temerity, in October last, to call on the Grand Jury to present the Citizens' Association as a public nuisance. Our Grand Jury, however, thought it as harmless as many other associations, and declined to proceed against it. We think this was entirely right. If we are not mistaken, the foreman was aware that there is a lady in one of our asylums who alternately fancies that she is Queen Victoria and the Empress Eugenie; and accordingly she issues despatches, bulletins, etc., to her subjects as often as possible.

But, as already intimated, it is only some "sets of officials" that are distasteful to the Association. Among the happy opposite class stand those of the Board of Health. These, like all others fortunate enough to con-

ciliate our modern *Ephori*, are lauded to the skies. We are told, in a long eulogy, that it

"has already earned *not only our respect and admiration, but also the thanks of all of us*, for keeping from our hearthstones the footstep of death. While pestilence stalked through other cities *less blessed with proper health regulations*, and gathered a rich harvest of victims, he was there *boldly met* by our Health Board, fought at our threshold, followed step by step, *night and day, by ceaseless vigilance*, and finally, *instead of becoming a conqueror, was conquered.*" (!)

Ah! how admirable! Let no one grumble after this at what we have to pay for "vital statistics." Why, they would be cheap at any price. The pay of "the rank and file of our Fire Department," on the other hand, should be carefully watched, for the corrupt ones want to raise it! (See pp. 8, 9.)

Those willing to believe that a self-elected government is the best, are requested, in various forms, to send in their subscriptions without delay. We give a small specimen of these modest invitations:

"If our capitalists and property-owners would subscribe *more liberally to the funds of the Association*, its efforts could be made more effective."

At page 48 it is further intimated that if our capitalists and merchants would "see it to be to their advantage" to "place at the disposal of the Association *the requisite funds*," etc. That is the point. "Pay here and not there," is the motto!

But we must close our hurried notice. We cannot do so, however, without asking, Would it not be cheaper, and better every way, to suppress all our existing machinery of government and put the supreme power into the hands of the Citizens' Association?

New Book of Two Hundred Pictures. 16mo, pp. 208. Philadelphia: American Sunday-School Union.

Of all the books designed for the young, and combining amusement with instruction, which have fallen into our hands during the present season, this is the one which we would most confidently recommend. Not one of the two hundred pictures is given without an object; each is fully though briefly explained, and made the medium of teaching a useful, moral, or religious lesson. The alphabetical index of subjects will render the volume all the more acceptable to our juvenile friends as a holiday present.

APPENDIX.

Insurance Reports, Journals, and other Documents, for the quarter ending December 15th, 1868.

No witness is more reliable than time. If the old father is intelligently interrogated as he proceeds on his tour, he will rarely conceal the truth. Of this fact we will give some curious illustrations before we close. It is now seven years since we made some statements in these pages relative to a certain class of insurance companies; we ventured to allege that they were not pursuing an honest or honorable course; and although we mentioned no names at this time, but merely advised our readers to be watchful and wary, the lowest abuse of the fish market was deemed too mild and gentle for us. It may be remembered that it was not deemed sufficient to make an onslaught on us in the insurance journals, and in placards distributed in thousands in the railway cars; as many of the daily papers as

would publish such things as advertisements were also brought into requisition against us.

Had we found fault with the principle of insurance, perhaps we should have deserved all; but we have never done so. On the contrary, we have always admitted that its influence is beneficent and salutary. In the first criticism we ever made on the subject, we did not deny that there were companies that were proving a veritable blessing to thousands of widows and orphans. Before presenting the dark side of the picture, let us remark, parenthetically, that far from opposing these, it was our hearty wish that they should prosper; nor have we any different feeling now. Need we say that it never injures honest underwriters to put the public on its guard against the dishonest? And those who take any interest in the subject may see for themselves that we have not been much mistaken in our estimates of particular companies, whether Life, Fire, or Marine; that, with not more than one or two exceptions, those whom we regarded, six or seven years ago, as worthy of public confidence, have since fully proved their claim to that distinction. If our opinion has undergone any change, in the meantime, in regard to this class, it is by gaining strength from year to year; so that it can hardly be called a mere opinion now, but a positive certainty. The change, in other words, is simply this: formerly we believed, from various evidences, that the companies to which we allude were honest and reliable; now we are sure, from evidences still more various and satisfactory, that they were, and are.

In order to enable our readers to agree with us in this by refreshing their memory, we will here set down as they occur to us, the names of companies, Life, Fire, and Marine, which we regarded as honest and honorable seven years ago; although at this time some of them had but recently commenced business, and had to struggle with difficulties that would have overwhelmed men less energetic, enthusiastic, and sanguine. The Life companies were the New-England Mutual, the Manhattan, the Knickerbocker, the *Ætna*, the *Equitable*, the *Phoenix*, the *Mutual Benefit*, and the *Charter Oak*.

Not one of these has sustained any injury in its character in the lapse of years; on the contrary, all have improved in that respect in proportion as their prosperity and success have increased. The two youngest companies at this time were the *Knickerbocker* and the *Equitable*; at the present day, probably no two rival each other more vigorously. But what of that? Two potentates may go to war, and carry on hostilities with each other for years without any serious detriment to the character of either. Louis XIV. and William III. did not the less enjoy the confidence and esteem of the world as sovereigns because they fought with each other so long. As long as hostilities are carried on, according to the laws of civilized warfare, no third party has a right to complain.

Among the Life Companies which were not in existence seven years ago, but are now established on a solid basis, and vying with their older brethren in affording real, substantial protection to the widow, are the *Continental*, the *National*, (New-York) *Security*, and the *Globe*. The youngest of these is now approaching the close of its third year; it has had time enough to develop its character; and like its older brethren, it continues

unreproached and irreproachable, rapidly vindicating the appropriateness of its *continental* appellation.

The number of Fire and Marine Companies in which we had ever much confidence is very limited; and perhaps we can show, if proof be necessary at the present day, that in this also we were pretty nearly right; but let the reader have a little patience, bearing in mind that no exhibition, however curious, can be witnessed until time and room have been allowed to open the doors thereof. When we used to say that not more than one fire company out of twenty afforded the insured real honest protection, many thought, and not a few said, that at best we were grossly mistaken; but now the fact is but too well known; the favorite organs of the very class who cheat most are forced to admit it, as we shall take occasion to show before we close. With one exception, the Fire and Marine companies that we represented five, six, or seven years ago, as faithful to their trust, are universally recognized as so to-day. The one exception was the Columbian Marine; and the failure of that was the result of a series of misfortunes rather than of any evil intentions or malfeasance on the part of the original officers. We need only mention the remainder to secure the concurrence of all who know them as to their fidelity and trustworthiness. The Mercantile Mutual, (Marine,) of Wall street, we have invariably placed in the first rank. At no time were we ignorant of the fact that there were one or two other marine companies that had more money, or that at least made a larger display of "assets;" but we always knew that it is not those who boast most that do most; and that it is not those who have most money, real or imaginary, that are most willing to pay even those claims the justness of which they cannot deny. Nor need we ask any better proof of the correctness of this than the history of the Mercantile Mutual for the last seven years,* taken in connection with that of one or two other marine companies, that once assumed to dictate to all others, but are now we know not in how precarious and degraded a plight. Upon the other hand, we can give an instance of one of the wealthiest fire companies in the world, being at the same time one of the most scrupulously exact and courteous in its dealings; which shows that it is not the money that makes certain underwriters pompous and arrogant, but the coarseness and vulgarity of their nature.

The model fire company to which we allude is certainly not the Home, nor the Continental, but a very different institution, namely, the *Ætna Fire*, of Hartford; and next to this we rank the *Security Fire and Inland*, with whose high character our readers are familiar; then come the *Washington Fire*, the *Hope*, etc. The two last-mentioned do not pretend to do business on a very large scale; but what they do pretend they faithfully and promptly perform. Now, need we say there is not one of these com-

* Owing to the usual defect in our memory, in regard to proper names, we have omitted for months to note a change which has taken place in the management of the Mercantile Mutual. At the beginning of the year Mr. Charles Newcomb retired from the vice-presidency of the company—a position which he had filled most efficiently and satisfactorily for many years. There was no chasm, however. Mr. Newcomb's place was taken by Mr. Archibald G. Montgomery, Jr., a gentleman young in years but old in experience in the marine branch of insurance, having been connected with the Mercantile Mutual since it was first established, and been in turn the favorite pupil of its two successive, honored presidents. Our readers are aware that better tuition no underwriter could have had. It is true that the best teachers can only do their part; the general result must depend mainly on the pupil. As to what might have been expected from the natural disposition of the present vice-president, all we have learned is, that he is a descendant of General Richard Montgomery, who fell at Quebec, fighting for American independence, and in regard to whom the revolutionary Congress testified, "their grateful remembrance, profound respect, and high veneration."

panies which does not deserve *better* to-day than the estimate we gave of it seven years ago? Still more correct, if possible, would the other side of the insurance picture, as given years ago, prove to our readers as improved by the hand of time; but we are rather averse to gloomy, unamiable portraiture at Christmas time. We prefer to give the delinquents time to improve their morals during the holidays, and wait until we see whether their annual reports afford any evidence of such improvement. But to return to the state of affairs in the past, so that we may be able to comprehend certain "new features" of the present.

Seven years since, insurance had become an object of speculation merely as a means of making money; numbers who had failed in various kinds of business turned their attention to the new project. Those who could not insure themselves from bankruptcy, or from being turned out of their boarding-house for non-payment of board, could raise hundreds of thousands of capital, in a few days, to see that the widows and orphans of all endowed with the proper faith should be comfortably provided for.

This was the class that we undertook to put the public on its guard against; thousands have since learned, when too late, that insurance companies may make a large display of figures as capital, assets, etc., and yet be downright, habitual swindlers. No year has since passed without an increase of this class; within the last two years they have multiplied. At this moment there are not fewer than a score of new companies in process of "organization." Scarcely a session of the courts passes without suits against insurance companies that refuse to pay under one pretext or another, when lives they have insured drop.* Those whose chief business it is to cheat know how to be prepared for these suits; even when judgment is given in favor of the plaintiff he is by no means sure of his money.

Again, there are hundreds who bring no suits; if they have even the means, which is seldom the case, judging by the experience of their neighbors, they think that instead of gaining they would, in all probability, only increase the loss they have already sustained. Yet, nobody seems to profit by their example; nay, those swindled seldom profit even from their own case. An agent comes to them and tells them they deserved their fate; they should not have insured in any such company; had they or their friends insured in his company they would have had their money now, etc. If the trick does not succeed with one agent it will with another—probably with his accomplice; the second company, as might be expected proves, if possible, still more dishonest than the first; yet, the credulity of our people rather increases than diminishes, and hence it is that the chief difficulty is now to find new names for the new insurance companies as fast as they are "organized!"

As for "capital," that is as easily manufactured as the cheapest drug in the market; a few hundred thousands, more or less, have only to be mentioned, and anon there are the figures! Even when these figures only exaggerate; when really wealthy men become underwriters, it is by no means certain that the insured may calculate on the amount of their policies, since

* The latest instance we have observed is one against the Traveller's, of Hartford: one of Batterson's concerns. The suit was brought in the Kings County (N. Y.) Supreme Court Circuit, before Judge Tappan, by Eliza C. Mallory, to recover \$200, being the amount of a life insurance policy issued by defendants to plaintiff's brother. The jury returned a verdict for plaintiff for the whole amount; but whether the lady has got it, or will get it, until she loses nearly as much as the original sum by law, if even then, is the question!

men may have much money—no matter how they got it—and very little honesty or principle. It was the opinion of Franklin, that rich swindlers did far more mischief than poor swindlers. But it may be said, even by those most willing to believe the truth, that we exaggerate the present condition of the insurance world. The dupes will think it impossible we could be correct! This very numerous, if not sensible or respectable class, will insist that the insurance organs were right in abusing us—that we deserved to be abused for making such monstrous statements. But let them not be too confident. What will they say if those organs are obliged to admit themselves, at the present day, much worse, in regard to their patrons, than what they abused us for? First let us see which organ is recognized as having the best right to speak *ex cathedra* of “the profession.” If we are not mistaken, it is the Insurance Times that enjoys this distinction at the present moment. In the absence of any other evidence, we should infer the fact from its being the most scurrilous of the whole tribe. Then, let us hear a specimen or two of the sort of information it gives its readers. Take this to begin with:

“Now, life-insurance is no cheat; but there is more misrepresentation, more deception, more finessing associated with it than with any other respectable business in existence. Every new plan for insuring lives is but another form of plausible deception, intended first to please, and then destroy. Who does not know that officers of companies always have some condition in the contract exceedingly obscure when the policy is taken, but exceedingly prominent when the policy is settled?”—*Insurance Times* for November, p. 463.

Now, let any one compare this and one or two other passages of the same kind, which we will also make room for, with the remarks we made in the articles on the “Quackery of Insurance Companies,” in Nos. X. and XII. of this journal, written six years ago, and judge from all how long it takes an insurance organ to make a discovery. But let us hear a little more of the confession:

“We have been many years in the life-insurance business, and we know most of the larger and more popular companies. But we have never known a company that was thoroughly honest—never one that was free from overreaching devices designed to gain advantage over those unfortunate policy-holders who were compelled to leave the company. There always has been, and is to-day, a disposition to skin alive all who enter the ranks and leave them again. Gain by lapses is a piece of iniquity as dark in every moral aspect as stealing.”—*Id.*

This, it will be seen, goes farther than we have ever gone. We have never said that no company is thoroughly honest; nor do we now. We know more than a dozen that are, most emphatically, thoroughly honest, and we have mentioned them above. But the writer we have quoted has an advantage over us; he has been in the business many years—we have never been in it one year or one day. If, having belonged to swindling companies, and been in the habit of associating only with cheats, he thought all were swindlers and cheats, like his accomplices, perhaps we ought rather pity than blame him for placing all in the same category.

In the December number of that organ, we have another article on the same topic, but this is marked “communicated.” The editor seems to think that this acquits him of being a party to the charges made. But let us hear a little more:

“Moreover, it is generally believed that managers of life companies are fair, honest men, with no disposition to take advantage or overreach. This is also a mistake. In many companies the reverse is true, and it is a constant study, not how the

interests of policy-holders may be promoted, but how *they can be ignored and evaded.*" (P. 565.)

The truth "will out" sometimes. This is precisely what we told our readers more than six years ago. At least one of the editors of the Insurance Times abused us at the time for doing so, and many a time since. We had no objection to this, nor shall we in the future. It will be remembered that we gave a specimen on one or two occasions of the sort of courtesy with which the insurance organs treat each other, remarking that why should we blame them when they treated us not only as politely as they did each other, but incomparably more so? Accordingly, we rather feel obliged to them than otherwise. If any of them said as naughty things of us, as what we are now going to quote, it will be admitted that they could not have said worse at all events. A long diatribe against the Insurance Monitor, which it seems has the temerity to pretend to rival the Insurance Times, commences as follows:

"Insurance papers, starting without capital, are conducted on a principle which combines some of the *worst features of mendacity and swindling.* They constitute some of the most transparent, and yet most successful, *impostures* in existence. Their editors are frequently men who have failed in the insurance business, and are too indolent or incapable to work or prosper at any other." (P. 496.)

If the writer of this extract had only the honesty to include his own luminary in the category which he describes, we would agree with him quite as readily as we do now in his estimate of his brethren. The editor waxes warm in true Billingsgate style, and comes to a climax as follows: "*Hine's Insurance Monitor Weekly is one of these infamous sheets.*" (P. 496.) This may seem bad enough, but it is mild and gentlemanly compared to what follows.

Yet, as we have said, there is no one so fond of misrepresentation but that he will sometimes have to tell the truth. Accordingly we make no apology for placing the insurance luminary on the stand again for a moment, or two. No doubt he knows what an "approver" is, or one who turns king's or queen's evidence, and we are willing to treat him with all the consideration due to that class of witnesses, when their testimony is duly corroborated, as in the present case. But let us hear the witness:

"It will startle our good citizens to learn that on all the small and special risks in this city *at least one third of the insurance is utterly worthless.* It has not at its back capital enough to pay the *smallest fraction of the risks it pretends to carry.* A more complete *delusion and flagitious cheat* was never imposed upon the public."—*Insurance Times*, Dec., p. 565.

It was a grievous sin on our part to say such as this; it was as clear as daylight that we had some abominable motive for doing so; but our insurance oracle says the same for the pure love of truth! There is a slight difference, however; the following will tell how:

"But whence are these companies *without honesty or capital?* and who introduces them into this State, which boasts of an Insurance Department created on purpose to prevent the fraud they commit *daily all the year round?* They come from New-Jersey, Pennsylvania, Maryland, and various other States, and are represented, under the rose, in this city, by about three hundred brokers, most of them *members of the Board*, and many of them *standing high in that fraternity.*" (P. 566.)

Just so. No insurance swindlers or impostors in New-York at all; all that class come from the rural districts. Let everybody be good enough to remember that there is no "complete delusion" or "flagitious cheat"

among our metropolitan companies? We look about a little to see how it is that New York has become so pure in that respect of late, and we find two of our companies spread over as many of the large quarto-pages of our insurance oracle. The "Home Fire and Inland" covers the whole face, or first page, except about an inch and a half at the top, occupied by the title of the organ, and the "International Marine and Fire" fills half the last page and half the preceding one. Under such circumstances New-York companies should, of course, be like Caesar's wife; all ladies of doubtful virtue come from the country! Be this as it may, we ask, are the most serious charges we have ever made against a certain class of insurance companies fully corroborated, or are they not?

Now we have to say a brief word about the so-called Chamber of Life Insurance. We wish we could devote a whole article to it for the amusement of our readers. At its third annual meeting the Chamber, as first constituted, ended as it began its existence, in a cloud of froth. To this we can add, without fear of contradiction, and without making any claim to the prophetic gift, that it has ended precisely as we predicted three years ago. We need hardly inform our readers that Mr. Benjamin J. Stevens, of the New-England Mutual Life, elected as its first president, has never once presided—never attended one of its meetings; that sort of work he left to Mr. N. D. Morgan and the worthy officers who have aided him so well in making a laughing stock of the whole party. However, we are not without a Chamber; *le roi est mort; vive le roi!* Morgan is dethroned, but we have Batterson in his place. Need we say that Europe and America, and Africa, too, might have been searched in vain for a more worthy successor? Let everybody thank Guy Phelps for this. In future the worthy doctor's claim to a niche in a certain gallery will not rest exclusively on his tomato pills and his insurance wooden nutmegs.

It is true that three intelligent, shrewd underwriters, whose integrity cannot be impugned, have sometimes attended the meetings of the Chamber, namely, Mr. Edward A. Jones of the National Life, Mr. Samuel H. White of the Charter Oak Life, and Mr. Pliny Freeman of the Globe Mutual Life; but it should be remembered that each of those gentlemen is very fond of a joke. It amused them to attend; and by putting in a word here and there they helped to amuse the public, by encouraging Morgan, Eadie, Bucklin, Batterson, etc., to make foolish speeches. But when new officers were to be appointed, on the 19th of November last, the three declined in turn to be nominated. Prof. Wright was declared Actuary-in-Chief; but that gentleman regarded his election as a doubtful honor at best. But with Batterson as president, Eadie as vice-president, Cole, of the Brooklyn Life, as secretary, and another member of the Morgan family (nominated by President Morgan, and "recommended from a respectable source") as treasurer, everybody must be satisfied that the "Chamber" will prove fully worthy of its name!

We never see an elaborate eulogy in an insurance paper but we think there is something wrong; that the "assets" are in a deranged state; that "contested claims" have attracted too much attention, etc. And most people who *think* regard the matter in the same light. There are several of these suspicious rhapsodies in the insurance journals before us, some of

them extending to three columns. As this is the size prescribed in the most desperate cases, we feel rather sorry. However, we will say nothing until the holidays are over; then, perhaps, the patients would be "smart" again, and not need our peculiar mode of treatment. In the mean time, we would respectfully remind them of the fable of the Lion and the Donkey. Young Master Leo took a great fancy for the company of a herd of donkeys that pastured some distance from the residence of his royal father; on his return he began to show his accomplishments, by braying at an immense rate, until the king of brutes nearly knocked the life out of him with a blow of his paw.

As to the existing controversy relative to the respective merits of the mutual and "mixed" life companies, we have nothing to do with it. Good, bad, and indifferent men belong to each, and, perhaps, nearly in the same proportion; and it is by the conduct and character of the men we judge, not by their rules or theories. Let us be only sure that the man is honest and trustworthy, and we do not care a wooden nutmeg, or a tomato-pill, whether he be a "mutual" man or a "mixed" man.

It is certainly as agreeable to us to notice vindications as accusations, or recriminations; indeed, much more agreeable, when we know that the former are honestly received. That this is true of the vindications of the Knickerbocker Life, of this city, and of the Etna Life, of Hartford, most of our readers are aware; for there are not two more honorable companies in the United States. Both, it seems, have been libelled; but those who do right have nothing to fear in the long run; in nine cases out of ten truth and justice will prevail. The following manly statement from General Maury, of Virginia, speaks for itself, and we are sure that Mr. Lyman is generous enough to accept it as sufficient satisfaction for the unfounded statements made against his company.

"Editors of Risk Observer:

"After consideration and investigation, I am convinced that my disparagement of the Knickerbocker Life Insurance Company, in my letter published in your paper last month, was altogether wrong and unjustifiable. All I can now do is to make this expression of my regret and acknowledgment of my error as public as was the assault. I will thank you to send a copy of the paper containing this *amende* to every agent of the Piedmont Company who may have received or read my letter, with an injunction to abstain in future from all disparagement of the Knickerbocker or any other designated company. DABNEY H. MAURY."

The vindication of the Etna comes from the New Dominion of Canada; this, also, tells its own story:

"ETNA LIFE INSURANCE CO.—As articles derogatory to this company have at various times appeared in these columns, which were written without a full knowledge of all the facts discussed, and would not have been published had we possessed the data now within our reach, we feel it due to that company, and our own character for truthfulness, to state that we are not aware of any thing in the standing or business of the Etna Life Insurance Company, which the public would have cause to distrust."—*Daily News of Montreal*, November 27th, 1868.

This is a much wiser course for those who make accusations without thought or knowledge, than to await the decision of a court. Alluding to legal affairs reminds us of a somewhat curious suit recently brought before

the Supreme Court of Chicago. Two parties claim \$10,000, the amount of a policy from the Manhattan Life Insurance Company. One of the litigants tries to cause the company to be appointed trustee; but the latter having quite enough to do besides watching for months, or perhaps for years, to see who is entitled to the money, pays the whole amount into court at once, so that as soon as a decision is made the successful claimant may receive it without any further trouble. Conduct so exemplary as this needs no praise.

Many of our readers will be glad to learn that the seventh distribution of the surplus funds of the New-England Mutual Life will commence in January next. Had not the termination of the company's fiscal year been recently changed from the 30th of November to the 31st of December, we should have had the annual report of Mr. Stevens before this; and we never read one of that gentleman's papers on insurance, which he has made the study of a lifetime without profit and pleasure.

It is from the Modern Athens we also learn that the Phoenix Mutual Life, of Hartford, continues progressive in its eminently deserved prosperity. In their statement for the month of October—the last that has reached us—its Boston agents announce the following results:

"By comparing it with the October of last year, you will see that we have made this year an increase of 129 policies—\$313,000 in insurance and \$58,000 in premiums. We have already issued for ten months of this year 6773 policies, against 5811 for the whole of the year 1867, and have two months yet to spare. Had it not been for the excitement of election during the past two months, we could have made a still larger increase."

This should be an encouragement to all who mean to pursue a straightforward course. We shall have an immense pile of annual reports to notice in our next number, including those of at least fifty new companies. Nay, according to the present ratio of increase, may we not expect that twenty-five more new companies will be "organized" between this and March next? It is sometimes said by well-meaning people that our State Superintendent should be a little more careful in issuing certificates; we have taken the liberty of intimating ourselves that he should abstain from praising new companies, at least until they get out of their swaddling-clothes; but it should be remembered that the worst of those companies with which Mr. Barnes has to do, are only blanks in some respects. Perhaps this will be best explained by an extract from Circular No. 40, addressed by the Superintendent to insurance officers, calling on them to hurry up with their annual statements, etc.

"You will please transmit the *fees for filing the annual statement (fifty dollars)*, by check or draft, *payable to the order of the Superintendent*. Companies from other States and foreign countries *will also remit five dollars for each agent's certificate of authority and certified copy thereof*. In cases where *higher or other fees or taxes* are chargeable by the laws of a company's own State, the *same fees and charges* are payable to the Superintendent."

Of course the laborer is worthy of his hire, and why should he not get it? We merely want to show that too much is expected from Mr. Barnes by those who think he is a little too ready with his "certificates of authority."

KNICKERBOCKER Life Insurance Company,

OF THE

CITY OF NEW YORK.

ERASTUS LYMAN, **GEORGE F. SNIFFEN,**
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Assets nearly	-	-	-	\$3,500,000
Annual Income for 1867	-	-	-	2,050,000
Policies Issued in 1867--10,283.				
Total Amount issued, over	-	-	-	\$50,000,000

POLICIES ISSUED FROM \$1,000 TO \$25,000

On a Single Life.

EVERY DESIRABLE FORM OF POLICY ISSUED.

New and Original Features Introduced by this Company in 1866.

NO RESTRICTIONS IN POLICIES AS TO TRAVEL OR RESIDENCE
IN ANY PART OF THE CIVILIZED SETTLEMENTS OF THE
UNITED STATES.

FREE PERMITS TO EUROPE.

No Extra Charge for Army & Navy Officers.

NO EXTRA CHARGE FOR CAPTAINS AND OFFICERS OF FIRST-
CLASS STEAMSHIPS AND SAILING VESSELS SAILING FROM
PORTS OF THE UNITED STATES AND EUROPE.

NO EXTRA CHARGES FOR RAILROAD CONDUCTORS, &c.

AND MANY OTHER ADVANTAGES NOT OFFERED OR ALLOWED BY OTHER
COMPANIES.

THE National Life Insurance Co.

OF

NEW YORK,

NO. 212 BROADWAY,

CORNER OF FULTON STREET.

(KNOX BUILDING.)

♦♦♦♦

ASSETS JANUARY 1, 1863, \$292,338 41

Dividend to Policy Holders 50 per cent.

SPECIAL ADVANTAGES

OFFERED TO

Insurers in the National Life Insurance Company.

All Policies non-forfeiting after two years.

All Policies incontestible after five years.

Note taken for one half the annual premium.

No interest charged on semi-annual or quarterly premiums.

Thirty days' grace allowed in payment of premiums.

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Accumulation \$5,500,000

Distribution of Surplus in 23 years, . \$3,000,000

Losses Paid in 23 Years, \$2,800,000.

POLICIES OF ALL DESCRIPTIONS ARE ISSUED BY THIS COMPANY.

Distributions of Surplus are to be made annually, beginning November, 1867.

Printed documents pertaining to the subject, together with the report of the Company for the past year, and tables of premiums, supplied gratis, or forwarded free of expense, by addressing

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Agent and Attorney for the Company,

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Cor. of Pine Street,

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MERCANTILE MUTUAL (MARINE) INSURANCE COMPANY,

No. 35 Wall Street, New York.

ASSETS, - - - \$1,464,419

This Company takes Marine and Inland Navigation Risks on Merchandise, Freight, and Hulls of Vessels. On the payment of Premiums, a Rebate or Discount on the current rates is made *in cash* as an equivalent for the Script Dividend of a Mutual Company. The amount of such Rebate being fixed according to the character of the business, gives to Dealers a more just apportionment of profits than by the mutual system; and, being *made in cash*, one payment of the premium is more than equivalent to the *cash value* of the average Script Dividends of Mutual Companies.

Policies issued making loss payable in Gold in this city, or in Sterling at the Office of the Company's Bankers in Liverpool, if desired.

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Life Insurance Company.

CAPITAL STOCK AND SURPLUS

OVER

\$8,000,000.

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Austin Dunham,	Robert E. Day,
Gurdon W. Russell,	Daniel W. Norton,
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Agencies of the Company can be obtained by applying at the office either personally or by letter.

PHOENIX

Mutual Life Insurance Co.,

OF

HARTFORD, CONN.

Dividends paid in 1865	- - - - -	50 per cent.
Dividends paid in 1866	- - - - -	50 per cent.
Dividends paid in 1867	- - - - -	50 per cent.
Dividends being paid in 1868	- - - - -	50 per cent.

The "PHOENIX MUTUAL LIFE INSURANCE COMPANY" have's attention to the following plans peculiar to itself:

- 1st.—All the advantages of an all cash and half note company.
- 2d.—If a party insures to-day for \$5,000, and pays one half cash and one half note (on any table), and should die to-morrow, next week, next month, or next year, the full amount of the policy is paid—\$5,000—and *no deductions of Notes*. All notes returned as dividends, and never but four notes on any table. If the payment is made *all cash*, the assured receives *in cash* the amount, \$5,000, with dividends—*cash added*.
- 3d.—No restriction on employment.
- 4th.—The insured are permitted to travel or reside in any part of the United States or Europe, and the southern portion of South America, during any and all seasons of the year, free of charge. This has never before been offered by any Company of its age without an extra charge, varying from \$10 to \$50 for every thousand dollars insured.
- 5th.—Dividends in the Phoenix have been, are now, 50 per cent.
- 6th.—The dividend is 50 per cent on all its tables. If the annual premium is \$100, the dividend is \$50.
- 7th.—It usually pays its losses in the State in ten days from proof of claim.
- 8th.—All its policies are non-forfeiting; thereby no possible chance of loss to the insured.
- 9th.—Ordinary life policies non-forfeiting after three payments, while the policy is in force for the full amount of *even dollars of premiums paid*, besides many other great advantages. The Phoenix has paid to widows and orphans over 525,000, and never contested a single claim; and has over \$2,250,000 safely secured for like purposes.
- 10th.—Its losses has been met by the annual interest received alone, and a surplus of interest left over to swell the general fund belonging to the insured.
- 11th.—Its rates of assurance are as cheap as any Company doing a *SAFE* business.
- 12th.—IT WILL NOT INSURE AN UNSOUND LIFE.

Number of Policies issued during the year ending Dec. 31, 1867,.....	5,811
Amount insured during the year.....	\$15,250,910
Total amount of losses paid.....	530,500

EDSON FESSENDEN,

President.

JAMES F. BURNS,

Secretary.

SEVENTEENTH ANNUAL REPORT
OF THE
Manhattan Life Insurance Company,
OF NEW YORK,
Nos. 156 and 153 Broadway,
JANUARY 1, 1868.

RECEIPTS DURING THE YEAR 1867.

For Premiums, Extra Premiums, &c.....	\$1,691,235 14
For Interest and Rents.....	242,268 91
For interest and Rents received.....	42,096 13
	\$1,975,600 18

DISBURSEMENTS.

Paid Claims by death on Policies and Bonus, and payment of Annuities.....	\$400,181 75
Paid Expenses, Salaries, Taxes, Revenue Stamps, Medical Examiner's Fees, Commission, &c.....	257,725 32
Paid Dividends, Re-Insurance, Purchased Policies and Bonus, Interest on Dividends, &c.....	295,697 60
	\$953,604 67

ASSETS.

Cash in Bank and on hand.....	\$53,016 07
Bonds and Mortgages.....	880,255 00
Loans on Policies in force.....	1,707,428 42
[The actuarial estimates of the value of the Policies which secure these Notes is about \$2,101,500.]	
United States and New York State Stocks.....	719,753 20
Quarterly and Semi-annual premiums deferred, and Premiums and Interest in course of collection and transmission.....	506,799 63
Temporary Loans on Stocks and Bonds.....	380,425 00
[Market value of the Securities, \$480,567 00.]	
Interest accrued to date, and all other property.....	52,096 63
	\$4,301,774 45

ADVANTAGES TO INSURERS.

Smallest Ratio of Mortality.

Expenses less than any Cash Company.

Liberal Modes of payments of Premiums.

Insurers receive the largest bonus ever given.

Dividends made Annually on all Participating Policies.

No Claims unpaid.

All kinds of Non-Forfeiting Life and Endowment Policies issued.

Policies incontestible.

All Endowment Policies and the Non-Forfeiting Life Policies Non-Forfeitable after one Payment.

The following are the examples of the operations of the last dividend :

POLICIES ISSUED IN 1863, ONLY FOUR YEARS AGO.

Age at Issue.	Amount Insured.	Premium Paid.	Added to Policy.	Total Amount of Policy.
30	\$ 10,000	\$ 1,289	\$ 3,572	\$ 13,572
35	8,000	1,092	2,948	10,843
30	7,000	798	2,764	10,208
25	7,000	571	2,505	9,505

This is an entirely new plan, giving insurers the largest return ever made by any Company in the same period.

HENRY STOKES, President.

C. Y. WEMPLE, Vice-President.

S. H. STEBBINS, Actuary.

J. L. HALSEY, Secretary.

M. Y. WEMPLE, Asst. Secretary.

THIRTY-THIRD DIVIDEND.

SAFEST AND CHEAPEST SYSTEM OF INSURANCE.

STATEMENT OF THE

Washington Insurance Company,

172 BROADWAY, cor. of Maiden Lane,

New York, February 7, 1868.

CASH CAPITAL, - - - \$400,000

ASSETS, February 1, 1868:

United States, State, and City Bonds (market value).....	\$411,666 00
Bonds and Mortgages.....	86,945 50
Demand Loans.....	153,450 00
Cash.....	56,077 99
Unpaid Premiums.....	12,793 79
Miscellaneous.....	45,238 20

LIABILITIES.....\$766,171 48

Capital and Net Surplus - - - - - \$736,200 00

A DIVIDEND OF (6) SIX PER CENT. is this day declared, payable on demand, in cash, to Stockholders.

ALSO, AN INTEREST DIVIDEND OF (6) SIX PER CENT. on outstanding Script, payable first of April in cash.

ALSO, A SCRIPT DIVIDEND OF (33 1-3) THIRTY THREE AND ONE-THIRD PER CENT. on the earned premiums of Policies entitled to participate in the profits for the year ending 31st January, 1868.

The Script will be ready for delivery on and after the first of April next.

The Script of 1862 will be redeemed on the first of April next, with interest, after which date the interest thereon will cease.

GEORGE C. SATTERLEE, President.

HENRY WESTON, Vice-President.

WM. K. LOTHROP, Secretary.

WM. A. SCOTT, Assistant Secretary.

NEW JERSEY, CAMDEN & AMBOY,

AND

Philadelphia & Trenton Rail Roads.

GREAT THROUGH LINE WITHOUT CHANGE OF CARS

TO

PHILADELPHIA, BALTIMORE, WASHINGTON,

AND THE WEST,

For Philadelphia :

Leave foot of Cortlandt St. at 7 & 10 A. M., 12.30, 1, 4, 5, 6.30 & 12 P. M.

Leave Pier No. 1, N. R., at 6 A. M. and 2 P. M.

For Baltimore and Washington :

Leave foot of Cortlandt Street at 8.40 A. M., 12.30 and 9 P. M.

For Pittsburgh, Chicago and Cincinnati :

Leave foot of Cortlandt Street at 8.40 A. M., 5 and 9 P. M.

Wm. H. GATZMER, Agent

C. & A. R. R. and Tr. Co.

PENNSYLVANIA CENTRAL RAIL ROAD.

SHORT LINE ROUTE

BETWEEN THE

EAST AND WEST.

Running Cars Without Change

BETWEEN

NEW YORK and
CRESTLINE,
CHICAGO,
COLUMBUS, and
CINCINNATI.

Through Time both East and West

BETWEEN

NEW YORK and PITTSBURGH,	-	-	17 Hours.
" " CINCINNATI,	-	-	29 "
" " CHICAGO,	-	-	35 "
" " ST. LOUIS,	-	-	46 "

The arrangement of Sleeping Cars by this and connecting roads is such as to afford the utmost convenience to passengers. They run from Supper to Breakfast Stations, passing intervening connecting points without change between New York and Pittsburgh; Altoona and Crestline or Dennison; Pittsburgh and Chicago, Cincinnati, or Indianapolis; St. Louis and Crestline, Columbus, or Cincinnati; New Orleans and Louisville.

ASK FOR TICKETS BY PITTSBURGH.

For sale in all principal Rail Road Ticket Offices throughout the country.

HENRY W. GWINNER, EDWARD H. WILLIAMS.

General Passenger Agent,

Philadelphia, Pa.

General Superintendent,

Altoona, Pa.

THE
EQUITABLE
Life Assurance Society

Of the United States,
No. 92 Broadway, New York.

WM. C. ALEXANDER,
President.

HENRY B. HYDE,
Vice-President.

GEO. W. PHILLIPS,
Actuary.

JAS. W. ALEXANDER,
Secretary.

CASH ASSETS,.....\$6,000,000
ANNUAL PREMIUM INCOME,..... 4,000,000

ITS PROGRESS IS UNPARALLELED.

Sum Assured in 1867, (new business) over \$45,000,000.

**ITS POLICIES AVERAGE THE LARGEST
OF ANY AMERICAN COMPANY.**

IT ISSUES ALL DESIRABLE NON-FORFEITING POLICIES.

On a Single Life, from \$250 to \$25,000.

All Profits Divided Among Policy-Holders.

DIVIDENDS MADE ANNUALLY FROM THE START.

This is the most successful Company ever organized, and for its years.

**The Largest Mutual Life Insurance Company
IN THE WORLD.**

Its percentage of total "Out-go" to "Cash Premium Receipts," was shown by the last official Report of the New York Insurance Superintendent, to be less than that of any other Company whatever.

To secure a Policy in the Equitable, apply at the Office, No. 92 Broadway, New York, or to any of the Society's Agents throughout the United States.

SECURITY Life Insurance & Annuity Company,

Nos. 31 & 33 Pine Street, New York.

Assets, - - - \$1,500,000. Income, - - - \$900,000.

Number of Policies issued from Jan. 1st, 1867, to Jan. 1st, 1868, 4,110, insuring \$9,235,775.

This Company issues **Life, Non-Forfeiture, in Ten Payments, Endowment, and Annuity Policies**, on the most favorable terms.

One-third of the premium will be indorsed on the Policy as a loan at six per cent. interest, if desired. Dividends are declared annually after three years. Premiums can be paid annually, semi-annually, or quarterly. All Policies are **Non-Forfeiting** after three annual Premiums have been paid in Cash. Competent Solicitors liberally dealt with on application to our

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SECURITY INSURANCE COMPANY.

OFFICE, 119 BROADWAY, NEW YORK.

CASH CAPITAL, \$1,000,000 00

ASSETS, January 1st, 1868, \$1,477,677 12

Assets January 1st, 1868.

Cash on hand and in Bank,.....	\$96,412 95
Cash in hands of Agents, and in course of transmission,.....	172,544 10
Bonds and Mortgages, for property worth \$1,136,500 00,.....	458,694 00
United States, State, and City Stocks, market value,.....	379,675 00
Call Loans on Government Collaterals,.....	145,589 00
Salvages, Accrued Interest, Re-insurance Claims, Bills Receivable, and Unpaid Premiums,.....	92,565 27
All other Property,.....	132,295 80

\$1,477,677 12

Liabilities,..... \$100,626 71.

FIRE AND INLAND INSURANCE

MANHATTAN COLLEGE,

(CHRISTIAN BROTHERS.)

NEW YORK CITY.

This Institution, incorporated and empowered to confer Degrees by the Regents of the University of the State of New York, offers many advantages to further the moral, intellectual, and physical development of students. The situation of the College is not surpassed in landscape beauty, or salubrity, by that of any similar institution in the country. It occupies an elevated position on the east bank of the Hudson, about eight miles from the City Hall.

TERMS.

Board, Washing, and Tuition, per Session of ten months,.....	\$300
Entrance Fee,.....	10
Graduation Fee,.....	10
Vacation at College,.....	40

German, Spanish, Drawing, Music, and use of apparatus in the study of Chemistry and Natural Philosophy, charged extra. School books at current prices.

No student received for a shorter period than one term of five months. No deductions made when withdrawn during the term. The pocket-money of the student is deposited with the treasurer.

Payment of half session of five months in advance.

The sessions commence on the first Monday in September, and end about the 3d of July.

A public examination of the students is held at the end of the session, and gentlemen are invited to examine them then, and also during the class hours of term time.

FOR PARTICULARS SEE CATALOGUE.

PHYSICIAN'S FEE, - - - - - \$10.

LAW SCHOOL

OF THE

University of Albany.

This School has now THREE TERMS A YEAR. The FIRST commences on the FIRST TUESDAY of September, the SECOND on the LAST TUESDAY of November, and the THIRD on the FIRST TUESDAY of March, each term continuing twelve weeks.

Three successive terms constitute the entire course, and entitle the student to become a candidate for the degree of Bachelor of Laws. Each term is independent and complete as to the instruction embraced in it. The method of teaching is by lecture, examination, and practice in the Moot-Courts. Two lectures are given each day, except Saturdays, and two Moot-Courts held each week, at which causes are first argued by the previously appointed disputants, then discussed and decided by the class, followed by the views of the presiding Professor. The law is taught both as a Science and an Art.

The immense *Law Library of the State* is open to the students, under proper regulations, and all the Terms of the *Supreme Court* and the *Court of Appeals*, the highest Courts of this State, are held in the City of Albany.

The Fee for a single term is \$40; for two terms, \$70; and for three, \$100; each payable in advance. The Professors, and leading topics upon which they lecture, are the following:

HON. IRA HARRIS, LL. D., Practice, Pleadings, Evidence.

HON. AMASA J. PARKER, LL. D., Real Estate, Criminal Law, Personal Rights.

AMOS DEAN, LL. D., Personal Property, Contract, Commercial Law.

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Rutgers Female College,

487, 489, & 491 Fifth Avenue,

NEW YORK CITY.

—:O:—

THIS INSTITUTION, which has enjoyed a high and wide reputation ever since its foundation in 1838, has now received from the Legislature of the State of New York a regular College Charter. The aim and purpose of the President and Trustees will now be to raise the standard of Ladies' education, and to afford the best facilities for acquiring a thorough and complete training, not only in those studies and accomplishments which are generally comprised in female education, but also in the classics and physical sciences; in short, to bring the course of study as nearly as possible to the level of that of our young men's colleges.

With this view, provision has been made for the pursuit of the Greek, Latin, German, and French Languages. The classical course is made optional after the close of the Sophomore year, so that pupils desirous of pursuing more fully other branches, either in modern languages or natural science, may have the opportunity of doing so.

The fine arts form a separate and independent department of study, under the personal charge of Mr. F. B. CARRUTTER, and the supervision of Mr. HUNTINGTON, President of the National Academy of Design. Drawing in outline forms part of the regular course, but painting in oil or water-colors is not included, and is to be prosecuted by special studies.

Physiology, and several allied branches, are to be formed into the Department of Home Philosophy, the aim of which shall be to teach, on the widest scale possible in such institution, the applications of science to the conduct of every-day life.

In conformity with the plan in the OLD RUTGERS INSTITUTE, the COLLEGE will still maintain an Academic and a Preparatory School, at which children and young girls may study under the same system and influences as those of the COLLEGE itself.

The Terms in the Preparatory Department are \$100 per year; in the Academic, \$150, and in the College, \$200, with the exception of the Senior year, when the expenses of graduation are added to the annual rate, so as to make it \$250.

For farther information, application may be made in person or by letter to

HENRY M. PIERCE, LL. D.,

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Profits of the Company Annually Divided.

ONE-THIRD OF THE PREMIUM MAY REMAIN UNPAID AS A LOAN.

No Notes Required.

Policies Non-Forfeitable.

THIRTY DAYS' GRACE ALLOWED IN PAYMENT OF PREMIUMS.
INSURED HAVE THE WIDEST LIBERTY TO TRAVEL WITHOUT EXTRA CHARGE.

Policies issued to December 10, 1868,	10,860
Amount Insured,	\$30,462,700
Income,	2,510,049
Dividend Declared,	40 per cent.

PROVIDENT

Life Insurance and Investment Company,

CHARTER PERPETUAL.

CAPITAL, \$1,000,000

Office, MASONIC TEMPLE, DEARBORN STREET,
CHICAGO, ILL.

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PUBLIC SALE OF

Condemned Ordnance and Ordnance Stores.

A large amount of condemned ordnance and ordnance stores will be offered for sale at public auction, at Frankfort Arsenal, Philadelphia, on MONDAY, the 21st day of December, 1868, at 10 and a half o'clock, A. M. The following list comprises some of the principal articles to be sold, viz.:

- 19 iron-brass guns, various calibres.
- 1,419,000 pounds of shot, shell, &c.
- 8,411 muskets, carbines, rifles, &c., various models.
- 90,000 pounds of gunpowder.
- 31,775 lots of infantry accoutrements.
- 4,746 lots of cavalry accoutrements.
- 427 saddles.
- 715 curb bridles.
- 405 watering bridles.
- 422 halters.

Persons wishing complete lists of the stores to be sold can obtain them by application to the Chief of Ordnance, at Washington, D.C.; of Brevet-Col. Crispin, U. S. A., Purchasing Officer, corner of Hous-ton and Greene streets, New York City, or by direct application to this Arsenal.

S. V. BERRIET,

Brevet Lieutenant-Colonel U. S. A., Commanding.

FRANKFORT ARSENAL, BRIDGESBURG, PENN., Nov. 14, 1868.

THE MUTUAL BENEFIT Life Insurance Company, NEWARK, N. J.



ASSETS OVER \$15,000,000.

Paid claims by death in 1867.....	\$825,419
Paid Dividends in 1867.....	644,891
Paid on lives of deceased members since organization.....	5,970,844
Paid dividends to members, as above, over.....	6,000,000
Total Receipts in 1867.....	4,939,892
No. of Policies in force Jan'y 1, 1868, 29,362,	
Insuring.....	104,516,845

This Company continues to issue all the various kinds of Policies at the lowest Rates consistent with security.

DIRECTORS.

LEWIS C. GROVER,	A. S. SNELLING,	JOHN R. WEEKS,	JOSIAH O. LOW,
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New York Office, No. 137 BROADWAY.

SAMUEL H. LLOYD, Agent.

Hours for Medical Examinations at the office, daily from 11 A.M. till half past 2 P.M.

JOHN MADDEN, 948 BROADWAY,

Bet. 22d and 23d Streets,

Manufacturer of Fine Harness, Saddles, Trunks,

And every article in the trade, of Superior Material and Workmanship.

Ladies or Gentlemen favoring him with their patronage will receive fair dealing and make a saving of at least 20 per cent. below any other Broadway store.

Keeps constantly on hand an assortment of

WHIPS, BLANKETS, BRUSHES, SPONGES,

And all requisites for Stable use.

KNICKERBOCKER LIFE INSURANCE CO.,

ERASTUS LYMAN, President.

—:O:—

HOME DISTRICT,

COMPRISING THE

STATES OF NEW YORK, NEW JERSEY, RHODE
ISLAND and CONNECTICUT.

—:O:—

H. LASSING, Sup't of Agencies,

No. 161 Broadway, N. Y.

HOPE Fire Insurance Company,

92 BROADWAY, NEW YORK.

—:O:—

CASH CAPITAL.....\$150,000

NET SURPLUS, March 1, 1868..... 53,392

—:O:—

JAMES E. MOORE,
SECRETARY.

JACOB REESE,
PRESIDENT.

[ENGLAND.]

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PICCADILLY, LONDON.

PARLORS

Have the cheerful view of Piccadilly,

BEDROOMS

Overlook the Green Park.

BRUNSWICK HOTEL,

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Under entirely New Management.

**Large and Small Suits of Apartments and
Comfortable Bedrooms.**

The above Hotels, situated in the centre of the West End, are replete with every convenience, and conducted with the comforts of home. Families and gentlemen boarded on moderate terms.

Messrs. BINGLEY & CO.,

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BOYLE, HON. LAWRENCE, New York.....	The Canadas, their Position and Destiny.
BURTON, E. L., M. D., LL. D., New York.....	Quackery and the Quacked.
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HILL, CLEMENT HUGH, Boston, Mass.....	William Pitt and his Times.
HOLLAND, REV. HENRY L., New York.....	Our National Defences.
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McLENAHAN, JOHN, New York.....	A Glance at the Turkish Empire, Hungary, Past and Present, Berkeley, his Life and Writings, the Union not a League, &c.
MEZZROCCHI, E. C., M. D., Boston, Mass.....	Count de Cavour.
MORSE, JOHN T., Boston, Mass.....	The Conspiracy of Catiline, Graham of Claverhouse, and the Covenanters, Wallenstein.
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SEARLE, GEO. W., Boston.....	Chief Justice Taney, Edward Everett.
SEARS, E. L., LL. D.....	Dante, Torquato Tasso, Camoens and his Translators, James Fenimore Cooper, The Nineteenth Century, The Modern French Drama, Persian Poetry, Modern Criticism, Ancient Civilization of the Hindoos, French Romances and American Morals, The Greek Comic Drama—Aristophanes, The Men and Women of Homer, Influence of Music—The Opera, The Poetical Literature of Spain, Vindication of the Celts, Christopher Martin Wieland, Bombastic Literature, Female Education, Good, Bad, and Indifferent, The Chinese Language and Literature, The Comedies of Moliere, The Works and Influence of Goethe, The Laws and Ethics of War, Lucretius on the Nature of Things, The Arts and Sciences among the Ancient Egyptians, The Quackery of Insurance Companies, Arabic Language and Literature, Spuriousness and Charlatanism of Phenology, The Insane and Their Treatment, Past and Present, &c., La Place and his Discoveries, The Mexicans and their Revolutions, The Brazilian Empire, Klopstock as a Lyric and Epic Poet, Our Quack Doctors and their Performances, Kepler and his Discoveries, Chemistry—Its History, Progress, and Utility, Do the Lower Animals Reason? Spinoza and his Philosophy, Commencements of Colleges, Universities, &c., Pythagoras and his Philosophy, Leibnitz as a Philosopher and Discoverer, Our Presidents and Governors Compared to Kings and Petty Princes, Italian Poetry—Aristo, Machiavelli and his Maxims of Government, The Celtic Druids, Galileo and his Discoveries, Socrates and his Philosophy, Authenticity of Ossian's Poems, Heine and his Works, Napoleon III's Julius Cæsar, Newton and his Discoveries, &c.
STUART, PROF. JAMES C., Aberdeen, Scotland.....	Sciences among Ancients and Moderns.
WOODRUFF, J. B., Nashville, Tenn.....	The Civilizing Forces.
WENTWORTH, REV. E. L., Toronto, Canada.....	The Works of Miss Evans.

CORPORATION NOTICE.

PUBLIC NOTICE is hereby given to the owner or owners, occupant or occupants of all houses and lots, improved or unimproved lands, affected thereby, that the following assessments have been completed and are lodged in the Office of the Board of Assessors for examination by all persons interested, viz. :

1st. For laying crosswalks across James-street from number sixty-one to sixty-two.

2d. For laying crosswalks from the southeast to the northeast corner of Fifth-street and First avenue.

3d. For paying with trap-blocks the carriage-way of Fifty-seventh street, from First avenue to Avenue A.

4th. For flagging sidewalks of Sixth avenue, west side, from Forty-sixth to Fifty-ninth street.

The limits embraced by such assessment include all the several houses and lots of ground, vacant lots, pieces and parcels of land situated on

1st. Both sides of James-street, from Madison to Oak street.

2d. Both sides of Fifth street, from First avenue to a point half-way to Avenue A ; also, the east side of First avenue, from Fifth street to a point distant half the block, north and south.

3d. Both sides of Fifty-seventh street, from First avenue to Avenue A, to the extent of half the block either way on said avenue.

4th. The west side of Sixth avenue, from Forty-eighth street to Fifty-ninth street.

All persons whose interests are affected by the above-named assessments, and who are opposed to the same, or either of them, are requested to present their objections in writing to Isaac O. Hunt, Chairman of the Board of Assessors, at their office, No. 32 Chamber street, basement New Court House, within thirty days from the date of this notice.

ISAAC O. HUNT,
E. HARRISON REED,
GUERNSEY SACKETT,

Board of Assessors.

OFFICE BOARD OF ASSESSORS, NEW COURT HOUSE,
December, 9, 1868.

JOHN ARTHUR & CO.,

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SALE OF Condemned Ordnance and Ordnance Stores.

Will be sold at public auction at Fort Monroe Arsenal, Old Point Comfort, Va., on MONDAY, the 28th day of December, 1868, at 10 o'clock, A. M., a large quantity of Stores, consisting in part of the following articles, viz. :

219 field, siege and sea-coast cannon, howitzers and mortars, cast iron (217) and bronze (2 of various calibres.

67 wrought iron gun carriages and cast iron mortar beds.

Large quantity of artillery implements and equipments.

13,249 shot, shell, spherical case, stands of grape and canister for smooth bore and rifled guns of various calibres.

36 foreign model arms of various calibres.

10 Burnside's carbines, in good order.

189 rifled muskets, altered to percussion, calibre .69, in good order.

348 foot artillery swords, in good order.

735 Springfield rifle muskets, calibre .58.

27 rifles, assorted.

13 sporting rifles and shot guns.

66 light artillery sabres.

272 N. C. O. and musicians' swords.

Infantry accoutrements, horse equipments and small arm appendages.

Artillery and cavalry bits and iron parts for field carriages.

27,678 cartridge bags (flannel and serge.)

Rope and corn sacks.

Blacksmiths', carpenters', saddlers' and armorers' tools, &c.

Thirty days will be allowed for the removal of cannon, fourteen days for all other stores.

Terms of Sale—Ten per cent. cash to be paid on the day of sale, balance on delivery of the goods.

A catalogue of the articles to be sold will be furnished upon application at this Arsenal, or at the Ordnance Office, Washington, D. C.

The officer making the sale reserves the right to bid in and suspend the sale whenever the bidding does not come up to the limit that may be fixed by proper authority on some of the articles, or whenever the interests of the United States in his opinion may be subserved by so doing.

T. G. BAYLOR,

Major of Ordnance, Brevet Col. U. S. A., Comdg.

To Contributors.

All articles shall be received at least a month before the day of Publication.
Contributions from all parts are equally welcome ; they will be accepted or rejected solely according to their merits or demerits, their suitableness or unsuitableness.

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